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## George Henry Haydon (1822-1891) : an Anglo-Australian life

Haydon, Katharine Risdon

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**George Henry Haydon (1822-1891): An Anglo-Australian Life**

**by**

**Katharine Risdon Haydon, MA (London)**

**A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy**

**King's College London  
University of London**

**2007**

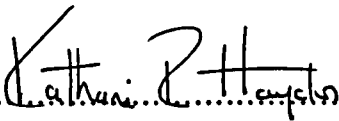




**George Henry Haydon (1822-1891): An Anglo-Australian Life**

**Declaration of Authorship**

I, Katharine Risdon Haydon, declare that the work presented in this thesis is my own.

Signed........

Date.....16-08-07.....

## **Abstract**

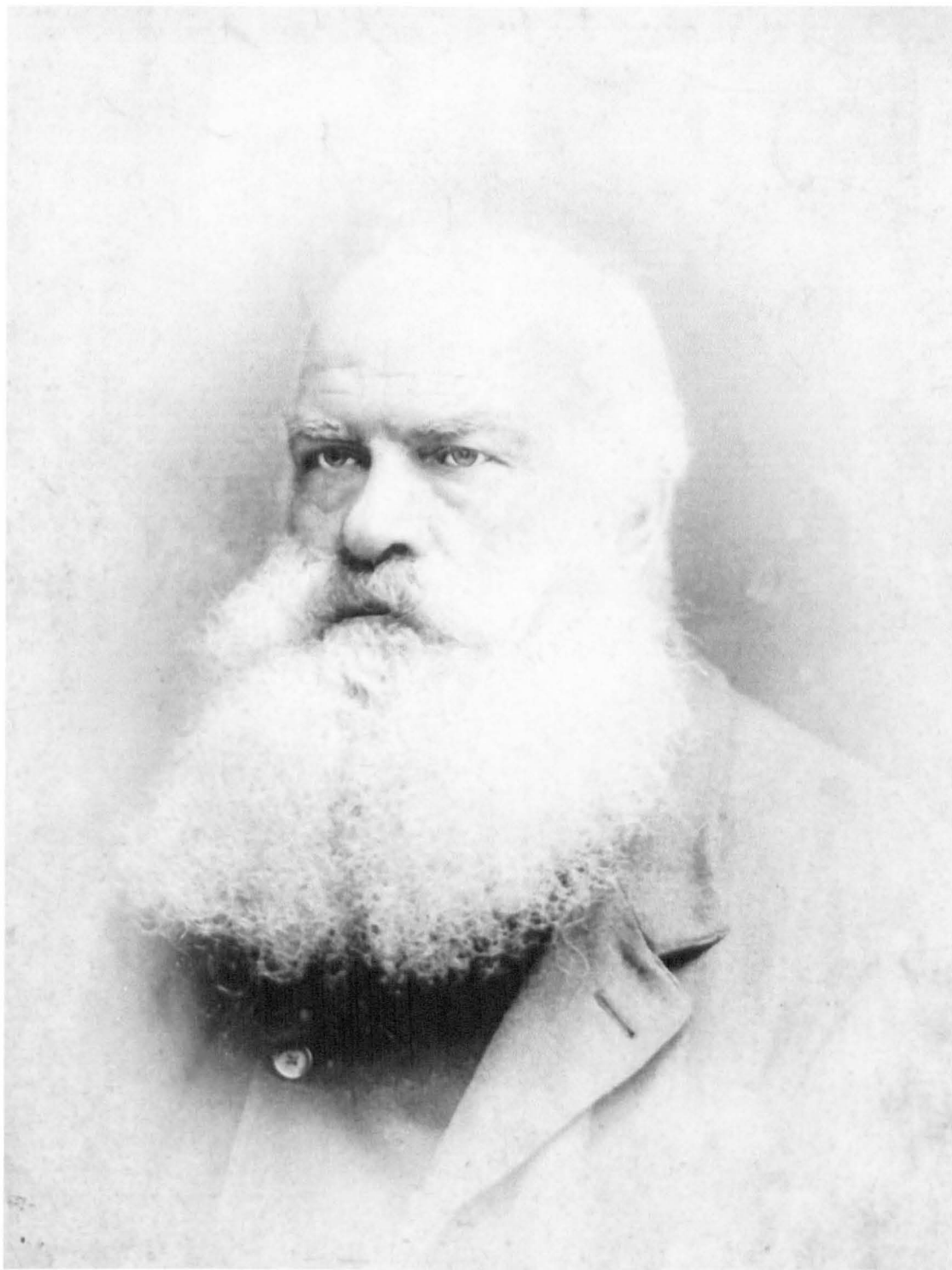
This biographical study of George Henry Haydon (1822-1891) seeks to show how and why five years spent in early Port Phillip (Australia) informed his whole life. Haydon left a variety of (previously unexamined) journals, sketches and letters which are here analysed for what they show of the process of emigration, and the ways in which the colonist attempted to record and comprehend his new environment. For Haydon this included his engagement with the land (he undertook some exploration) and the Aboriginal population. The study assesses Haydon's contribution to the records of life in and around Melbourne in the early 1840s.

Haydon went back to England in 1845 and he is examined as a returned emigrant. Through his lectures on emigration and his two published works, Haydon represented and promoted Australia to an English audience. The study examines how, in the context of the contemporary literary and artistic genres, perceptions of Australia were constructed in the European imagination.

Haydon's later career was spent in London as Steward of the lunatic asylum, Bethlem Royal Hospital (Bedlam). In keeping with his middle-class, high-Victorian sensibilities he took an interest in natural history, Freemasonry, and the Volunteer Movement. Haydon moved in circles which included some of the best known writers and caricaturists of the day, including Charles Dickens. A continued and evolving engagement with Australia is traced through Haydon's activities both within the hospital and outside, and in his later writings and drawings.

Underpinning the argument is an acknowledgement of the shifting trends in Australian historiography which have in recent years moved away from isolationist approaches towards a reintegration of Australian and European history. Haydon is presented as a figure who saw his place within the wider sphere that was the British Empire. In this context, his life can be seen to have been a truly 'Anglo-Australian' one.

**George Henry Haydon (1822-1891): An Anglo-Australian Life**



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During my research in Australia I met with great enthusiasm for this project, and many individuals in Melbourne, Gippsland and Canberra were more than helpful in providing information; I would particularly like to acknowledge Dr Niel Gunson and Dr Ian Clark. The staff of the Archives and Museum of Bethlem Royal Hospital have been supportive of this study of one of their own, and I am especially indebted to Dr Colin Gale.

I thank my father for being a painstaking proofreader and intelligent sounding board. I thank my husband for his patience, support, and faith that I would complete the task. Finally, I thank my mother for recognising the value of more than one Haydon and for giving me Australia; it is to her memory that I dedicate this work.

## Abbreviations and Notes on Sources

Despite the age and poor condition of some of the items which provide the primary material for this study, Haydon's handwriting is remarkably clear. In transcribing extracts from these and other letters and documents no alteration has been made to the original spelling or punctuation. Illegible words or lacunae are indicated by an ellipsis in square brackets. I am indebted to the late Judith Whitlock who transcribed the bulk of Haydon's journals. However, quotes used in this study have been taken from the original source. To avoid lengthy and repetitive notation the main primary sources have been given the following abbreviations.

- TJ* - *Theresa* journal - 23 March 1840 to 19 July 1840
- J2* - Melbourne journal - 13 November 1840 to 2 August 1841
- J3* - French Island journal - 11 October 1843 to 9 April 1844
- J4* - Western Port journal - 24 April 1844 to 22 October 1844
- J5* - Gippsland journal - 24 April 1844 to 25 May 1844
- J6* - *Wave* journal - 5 December 1844 to 15 January 1845
- AJ* - *Abberton* journal - 15 January 1845 - 31 May 1845
- AF* - George Henry Haydon, *Five Years' Experience in Australia Felix*, London: Hamilton Adams, 1846
- TAE* - George Henry Haydon, *The Australian Emigrant*, London: Arthur Hall, Virtue, 1854
- EL* - George Henry Haydon - emigration lecture, 1849
- BL* - George Henry Haydon - Bethlem lecture, 1862.

Abbreviations for the location of source material are:

- BRH - Bethlem Royal Hospital Archives and Museum
- CUL - Cambridge University Library
- HC - Haydon Collection
- HRO - Hampshire Record Office
- HUL - Harvard University Library
- NLA - National Library of Australia
- PUL - Princeton University Library
- SLV - State Library of Victoria.

Haydon's pictorial material comes from various sketchbooks, letters and scraps of paper. For the purposes of this study some images have been enlarged and where possible the size (in centimetres) of the original image has been given. Haydon predominantly drew in pencil or pen and ink. Only where there are exceptions to this is a description given. Unless otherwise stated all images are by George Henry Haydon.

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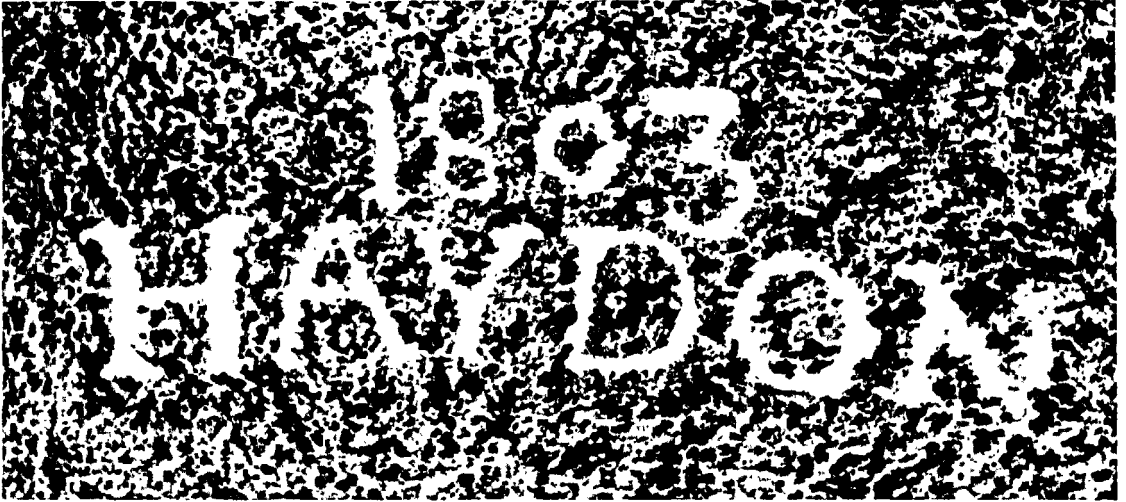
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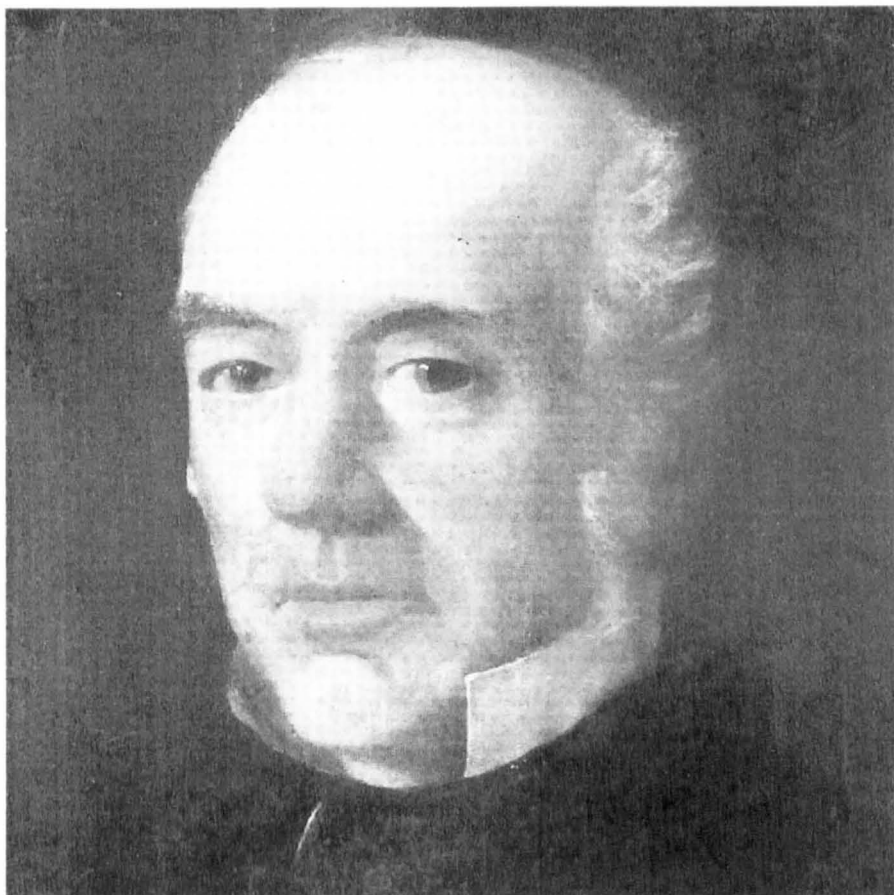
## Prologue



Cloth rubbing of Samuel Haydon's name carved on Table Mountain, B. A. Sowman, photograph.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> W. H. Crump, 'Samuel Haydon', *The Journal of the Mountain Club of South Africa*, 61 (1958), p. 58.



Samuel Haydon c.1840, oil painting by Samuel Bouverie Haydon c.1840, B. A. Sowman, photograph.<sup>2</sup>

February 1803, HMS *Braave* stood at anchor in Table Bay, South Africa, whilst the Royal Navy was stationed there to oversee the handover of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope from the British to the Batavian Republic of the Netherlands.<sup>3</sup> Twenty-four-year-old Samuel Haydon, purser on board the *Braave*, had made several ascents of Table Mountain during visits ashore. On his final climb, at the highest elevation, he buried a quart bottle containing a piece of paper, and then etched his name on a nearby rock. The bottle was sealed with a cork and resin, and attached to it by a length of wire was a King George III penny piece.

Haydon hoped his bottle would remain buried for several centuries but on Easter Monday 1864 a party of climbers searching for firewood on top of Table Mountain pulled up a small bush and in so doing discovered the penny and its attachment. The

---

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* The original painting was presented to the Mountain Club of South Africa in 1951 although its present whereabouts are unknown.

<sup>3</sup> This was a condition of the 1801 Treaty of Amiens between the French and their allies and the British.

finding of the bottle was reported in the *Cape Argus* in an article entitled 'Interesting Relic'.<sup>4</sup>

By 1864 Haydon had long since retired from the navy and was living quietly with his family near his home town of Exeter in Devon. It is unlikely that he would ever have known the fate of his bottle were it not that a family friend then staying in Cape Town had seen the article, recognised the connection and sent a copy of the paper to England. Despite his disappointment that the bottle had remained buried for only sixty-one years, Haydon must have been amazed and delighted to get news of it, and he noted in his personal papers that the original document and penny were retained in the possession of the editor of the *Argus*.<sup>5</sup>

What Haydon had written and buried in the bottle over two hundred years ago was an attempt to capture and record for posterity a particular moment in history. With its original spelling and punctuation it read:

On the 25<sup>th</sup> February 1803 Anno Domini the underwritten ascended Table Mountain for the fourth and most probably for the last time in his life. The Colony of the Cape of Good Hope is still in the hands of the English but about to be given up to the Batavian Troops who already occupy the interior of the Country. It is said they amount to about 2800 and are principally a mixture from the different Continental powers of Europe. The remains of our Army here may be about the same number the other part having been previously embarked for our possessions in the East Indies amounting to about 6000 British troops. The jurisdiction of the Colony still remains with the English and Lieutenant General Dundas acting Governor. The remains of the British squadron lying in the Bay under the command of Sir Roger Curtis Bart. Vice Admiral of the Red etc. etc. consists of the Lancaster 64 guns bearing his flag- Jupiter 50 Tremendous 74 Diomedé 50 Braave 40 Hindustan store Ship 18 and Penguin 18. The Spyran 18 is the only Man of War the Batavian Republic has lying here, their squadron consisting of 3 line of Battle Ships and one Frigate having left this a few days since for India under command of Rear Admiral Dekker. The Batavian Governor General Janssen for this place arrived the 23<sup>rd</sup> December 1802 as also Genl. De Mist a Frenchman who commands the Republic's Troops.

England is now at peace with the whole world. After a Nine years sanguinary War in which under God by the Bravery and ability of her seamen alone She singly and without the assistance of any other Power Braved the Whole of the Maritime Nations of Europe combined! obtained victories on that element unparalleled in the annals of History and now after expending 250 millions on the war She remains with her commerce immense, her subjects rich happy and respected - her foreign territorial possessions vast - particularly in both the Indies. In the East alone Eleven million of the Natives acknowledge her

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<sup>4</sup> 'Interesting Relic', *Argus* (Cape Town), 13 March 1864.

<sup>5</sup> The penny is held by the Archives of South Africa, Cape Town. Haydon's name has been found on Table Mountain although its precise location remains a secret.

Sway and in the West the Richest Islands call her Master - while the British flag is continually to be met with in all parts of the Globe and in every Sea, either in pursuit of Commerce or exploring the unknown - and lastly after founding in the United States of America a mighty Nation, she is now (with the Philanthropic wish of extending the milder influences of civilised life over the Southern Hemisphere so long consigned to barbarism) expending large sums of money on the Colony established in the South end of the Expansive Island of New Holland now called Port Jackson which may although but now in an Infant State become in the revolution of some centuries as Great and as Powerful an Empire as that from which she first received her Birth.

Reader whomsoever thou art, or by whatever chance this writing may fall into thy hands ascribe not to vain motives what I have here written in regard to my Country - for what shall its opulence or its victories avail me after a lapse of 5 or 600 years where then shall the hand be which now traces these lines - what then may be the condition of his Nation - shall it not have felt in its turn with others a decline from a state of Grandeur unexampled since the days of ancient Rome - may it not serve as a monitor to shew that Kingdoms and the life of man have but their time and that even at one day or another as our own Immortal Bard so sublimely writes *'This Globe itself shall dissolve and like the baseless fabric of a vision leaves not a wreck behind.'*

Done on board Her Majesty's Ship Braave  
20<sup>th</sup> Feb 1803.  
Samuel Haydon<sup>6</sup>

In burying the bottle and contemplating a time span of five or six hundred years for its discovery, Samuel Haydon showed his commitment to posterity and his awareness of his own place in a linear narrative to be recorded in the 'annals of history'. That he wrote of the rise and fall of national interests shows his belief in empire as a natural objective for any progressive people, as does his speculation on an imperial destiny for the newly settled continent of Australia.

When Samuel Haydon gave this snapshot of the state of the British Empire in 1803 it was still an age that held potential for discovery of new lands and exploration of the unknown. Although he was to travel widely during his twenty-four years in the navy Samuel Haydon never reached the 'Expansive Island of New Holland'. It was his son, George Henry Haydon, who was to make that journey.

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<sup>6</sup> This extract has been taken from the copy of the document made by Samuel Haydon, HC. The original was held by the Archives of South Africa until stolen from this repository in 1987.

## Introduction

Born in 1822 George Henry Haydon emigrated to Australia in 1840 and returned to England five years later. Those records of his experience still extant over a century and a half later are notable for their coverage of a relatively early period in the history of Melbourne and the Port Phillip District, as well as for their breadth of textual form. From these it has been possible to analyse and contextualise Haydon in his time, and then to apply modern historiographical methods and perspectives whilst taking care not to lose sight of the man as an individual. What results is a biographical study, albeit weighted heavily in favour of the Australian years, which argues three contentions. The first is that Haydon made a significant contribution to the records of, and recording of, life in and around Melbourne in the early 1840s. The second is that Haydon, as a returned emigrant, proceeded to influence perceptions of Australia for a British audience. The third contention is that Haydon's Australian experiences and the way in which he continued to engage with Australia throughout his entire life make it possible to discern an Anglo-Australian essence to the man.

In establishing these points it is necessary to interrogate the literary and artistic genres in which Haydon recorded his experiences, and the techniques he employed to make sense of them. How and why did he express things the way he did? How are issues of culture, class and gender inscribed in Haydon's work? What do they tell today's historians of the way the early colonists interacted with Australia and, indeed, empire? The study will question the part played by the production of these verbal, textual and visual records in the interpretation and appropriation of a new environment. Central to the thesis is its inquiry into what it meant for the individual to migrate and what to return; what was the impetus for and what were the implications of these actions? How did Haydon revise his colonial experiences in later life and how did he see his place in the wider British world?

In 1959 Judith Whitlock (the writer's mother) married Hilary Haydon (the writer's father), great-grandson of George Henry Haydon. For clarity a family tree is set out at Appendix I. Haydon was already known in Australia through his two published books - *Five Years' Experience in Australia Felix* (1846) and *The Australian Emigrant* (1854) - but Whitlock, herself an Australian and a graduate of the University of Melbourne, recognised the value of Haydon's private papers held by the family in

England. Sometime during the early 1960s she arranged for the Australian journals of George Henry Haydon to be microfilmed and deposited in the National Library of Australia in Canberra. At around the same time Whitlock wrote a biography of Haydon entitled *Gentleman Felix*.<sup>1</sup> Although Whitlock was a professional writer and journalist her manuscript on Haydon lacked the historical rigour necessary for an academic study. Her work was also produced during an era in which Australian historiography still favoured the isolation of 'national' history and the pursuit of that which was distinctively 'Australian'. Consequently, there was little appetite for a work on a minor character who operated on both sides of the world but had been of insufficient importance in either and no publisher could be found. Nevertheless, over the intervening years a number of researchers and historians of early Victoria have come across Haydon's journals in the National Library and contacted the Haydon family with various requests for information to the point that today a full study of the man is needed and warranted.

Haydon's works have been much used by both nineteenth-century commentators and modern historians to illustrate various aspects of Victorian history. However, no assessment has ever been made of Haydon's work in its entirety placing it both in a wider historical context and in relation to the man as an individual. Entries on Haydon in both the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* and *Modern English Biography* are testament to his relevance in both hemispheres.<sup>2</sup> In the recent climate of a post-nationalist interest in global networks the time is right to look again at those figures who conducted their lives both physically and psychologically in a space that was not necessarily constricted by national boundaries.

The first task of this study has been to collate the primary material held by the Haydon family and to locate any further material. This has necessitated research in Australia as well as England. Sometime after Haydon's death his papers, letters and drawings were distributed amongst his children and became dispersed. In addition to the material held by the writer and in the archives of Bethlem Royal Hospital, a further 106 letters and several sketches have been identified in various repositories in England, Australia, America and South Africa.

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<sup>1</sup> Judith Whitlock, *Gentleman Felix: A Biography of George Henry Haydon (1822-1891)*, unpublished ms, c.1961, HC. Whitlock died in 1993 and the surviving manuscript is incomplete and not paginated. Other than where expressly stated this study has not relied on any information or ideas from this work.

<sup>2</sup> Niel Gunson, 'Haydon, George Henry', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 4 (Melbourne, 1972), pp. 362-3; Frederic K. Boase (ed.), *Modern English Biography*, vol. 5 (London, 1965), p. 626.

Central to the collection are the journals Haydon kept during both his voyages to and from Australia, together with those that cover part of his time spent in and around Melbourne.<sup>3</sup> Although Haydon almost certainly kept diaries back in England none have survived. The remainder of the collection comprises sketchbooks, notebooks, lectures, articles, photographs and a variety of ephemera; there are also a number of artefacts. Indeed, the strength of the material lies in the broad spectrum of genre and mediums through which Haydon expressed himself and his world. A full listing of the Haydon Collection together with additional identified material is shown at Appendix II.

Despite its breadth, the material is patchy in both period and subject matter. That the bulk of the primary material originated from Haydon's own papers does mean that it has been self-selected by the subject, and probably further edited by his relatives after his death. What has survived is, to an extent, what the subject wished to survive. This has the advantage of suggesting what Haydon held to be most important in his life, and the disadvantage that it cannot reflect the whole story. Haydon kept letters from his friends not his enemies; he recorded his achievements not his failures. Nevertheless, as this study is not a biography *per se* this does not pose a particular problem: it is not the purpose of this work to show a whole life but only its 'Anglo-Australian' aspects.

The initial focus on just five years spent in the early Port Phillip District expands to cover a life lived in England through the height of the Victorian age. Migration and return form central themes, whilst the nature of Haydon's legacy is assessed through both his written work and his art. The study is therefore approached through the disciplines of biography, history (British and Australian, social and cultural), art history, and literature.

Biographical objectivity is always problematic as the biographer strives to separate his or her own personality, sympathies and interests from the subject. Maintaining an objective perspective becomes harder still when the subject of study is an ancestor: consciously or subconsciously the desire to believe one comes from good, or at least interesting, stock is a common human failing. This added need for objectivity has been recognised from the outset of this study although the century and a half separating the writer and the subject helps enable sensitive issues to be addressed with detachment. Indeed, this is an era when intellectual fashion dictates that the clatter of skeletons falling out of cupboards is to be positively welcomed, a phenomenon not least

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<sup>3</sup> The surviving journals cover only twenty of the fifty-three months Haydon spent in Australia.



seen by the number of Australians who now embrace their convict heritage. Despite the shortcomings of biography as a tool for historians, the life of the individual is increasingly being recognised as a valid way of 'narrating the past' and a legitimate site for further investigation.<sup>4</sup>

In places the study becomes a literary biography in so far as it considers the relationship between Haydon's written works and his life. Such techniques for analysing the man through his work are also applied to Haydon's drawings. But rather than merely seeing his work, whether written, drawn or, in the case of his lectures, oral, as products of an individual, here they will be seen as having a broader significance serving particular cultural and social functions. To uncover these Haydon must be placed in his own time enabling an appreciation of the contemporaneous intellectual currents and social dynamics.

Haydon was far from unusual in having been a colonist for a period before returning to Great Britain. For many whose careers were spent in exploiting the colonies or in service to the Empire returning 'home' for retirement was natural. The *Australian Dictionary of Biography* is littered with such examples. In addition, there were those, like Haydon, who spent only a few years in Australia, and others still who came and went between the colonies and the mother country. It is outside the scope of this study to make any detailed comparisons between Haydon and others who returned. It is, however, the purpose of this study to suggest that attention should be given to the lives of such returnees for a greater understanding of how and why 'Australia' was played out back in Britain, and how such imperial lives conducted the energy of empire.

Traditional post-colonial approaches to imperial history have concentrated on the processes of acquisition, administration and exploitation associated with empire. With the fragmentation of the Empire came the fragmentation of imperial history as each region sought to establish its own separate identity.<sup>5</sup> (This tendency has already been suggested as one of the reasons why Whitlock met with so little interest in her 1960s study of Haydon.) These approaches have overshadowed consideration of the

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<sup>4</sup> David Lambert and Alan Lester, 'Imperial spaces, imperial subjects' in David Lambert and Alan Lester (eds.), *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire: Imperial Career in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 20.

<sup>5</sup> David Fieldhouse, 'Can Humpty-Dumpty be put together again? Imperial History in the 1980s', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 12 (1984), pp. 9-23.

various forms of interaction and exchange that shaped the colonial past.<sup>6</sup> In recent years the call has been made for a new approach to imperial studies which takes into account the people, culture and identity that united the British world, as well as the varied impetuses behind empire.<sup>7</sup> This complements the growing interest in world diasporas, emigration and immigration. Whilst historians are increasingly turning their attention to the reciprocal nature of the imperial experience and recognizing how it changed the colonizer as well as the colonized, there has yet been little done on the impact of such experience on the individual once back in their native environment.<sup>8</sup> Whilst this study of Haydon supports the idea of a reintegration of British history with the wider British world, it resists the temptation to see the movement of culture as one way only - that is outward from centre to periphery. This is why this thesis, through Haydon, seeks to identify the nature of the colonial backwash created by those who returned. It is true that Haydon's physical migration experience entailed a single trip 'there and back'. It is also true that Haydon's subsequent relationship with the colonies was very geographically specific, with the Port Phillip District. But Haydon saw imperial relationships on a much broader level and he displayed a continual sense of the entire organism of empire, its purpose and his part in it. It will be demonstrated that for Haydon this enabled him to live an Anglo-Australian life.

The study is largely presented chronologically, partly because it follows the course of a life, but more importantly because a central concern of the thesis is how Haydon's relationship with Australia developed from what it was during the time he spent there to new perspectives in the period immediately following his return, and then again in his later life. The decision to consider Haydon's artwork as integrated into the narrative of his life rather than as a separate body of work allows it to be assessed at the point, and under the circumstances, in which it was produced. Nevertheless, in some instances it has been necessary to consider material outside its strict chronological position in order to follow the thread of Haydon's imagination. Additional images

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<sup>6</sup> Andrew Porter (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire III: The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 1-4; Stuart Macintyre, 'Australia and the Empire', in Robin W. Winks (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire V: Historiography* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 174-85.

<sup>7</sup> Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich, 'Mapping the British World', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 31.2 (May 2003), pp. 1-15; Lambert and Lester, pp. 1-31; P. J. Marshall, 'Imperial Britain', The Creighton Lecture, King's College London, 7 November 1994.

<sup>8</sup> John Gascoigne, 'The Expanding Historiography of British Imperialism', *The Historical Journal*, 49.2 (2006), pp. 577-92; For examples of trans-imperial lives see Lambert and Lester (eds.), *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire*.

relevant to Australia but which it has not been possible to include within the body of this study are shown at Appendix III.

The study commences with an assessment of Haydon's background and early years in Exeter. His decision to emigrate is seen in the socio-political context of who was emigrating at that time, and why. Haydon's journal of the voyage to Australia provides insight into both the physical and emotional act of emigrating. Its analysis is supported by the work of Andrew Hassam whose studies are insightful on the form and cultural function of the shipboard journal particularly through illustrations of the ways in which the journals helped the migrant to manage the experience.<sup>9</sup> Speculation on the effects of the voyage in shaping the colonial character has been prompted by ideas explored by George Nadel.<sup>10</sup>

Haydon declared his reason for going to Australia was to make a fortune. Chapter 2 looks at his varied career in Australia and places him at a very particular moment in the history of Port Phillip: post-transportation (to New South Wales) and prior to the separation of Victoria and the discovery of gold. Although a gentleman by background Haydon was without independent means or substantial capital. Paul de Serville's study of gentlemanly society in early Melbourne has some relevance to the understanding of Haydon's position. Moreover, de Serville calls for social historians to pay more attention to the lives and origins of the first colonists, their links with Britain and the influence of European manners and culture which have been largely overlooked in considerations of the formation of colonial society.<sup>11</sup> Here some of that attention is paid.

Haydon tried his hand at a variety of colonial activities all of which helped shape his relationship to, and opinion of, Australia. As a clerk for one of Melbourne's earliest merchants, working for the Melbourne press, then as a drawing teacher, artist and architect, Haydon struggled to make his way. Haydon was a competent amateur artist and a number of his sketches of Australia have survived. His most famous and much reproduced *Melbourne in 1840* is useful for its documentary value. However, his more casual sketches provide an additional insight (complementing his various textual representations) not only into what interested the man himself, but into how the

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<sup>9</sup> Andrew Hassam, *Sailing to Australia: Shipboard Diaries by Nineteenth-Century British Emigrants* (Manchester, 1994); *No Privacy for Writing: Shipboard Diaries 1852-1879* (Melbourne, 1995).

<sup>10</sup> George Nadel, *Australia's Colonial Culture: Ideas, Men and Institutions in Mid-Nineteenth Century Eastern Australia* (Melbourne, 1957).

<sup>11</sup> Paul de Serville, *Port Phillip Gentlemen and Good Society in Melbourne Before the Gold Rushes* (Melbourne, 1980), p. 22.

European eye perceived, and comprehended the new environment. How Haydon's works fitted into the artistic genres of the day and the function of those genres is considered along with his, quite typical, inability to see the New World other than through the lens of the Old. Despite its age, Bernard Smith's account of art in Australia, particularly where it deals with representations of the Aborigines and the landscape, remains the most comprehensive and insightful work on the subject.<sup>12</sup> Useful too is Ian McLean's exploration of how the picturesque was employed to locate the site of colonization.<sup>13</sup>

Forced to look outside Melbourne for work, Haydon hatched an unusual plan to make money on French Island and this is dealt with in Chapter 3. The venture was a failure but it brought Haydon into contact with the squatters of Western Port and provided him with a rich source of material in later life. Haydon's stay in Port Phillip coincided with an economic depression which had a profound impact on his experience.

Chapter 3 also deals with Haydon's journey to Gippsland, ostensibly as an artist, in the company of the Chief Protector of the Aborigines, George Augustus Robinson, and some native police. Both Haydon and Robinson left accounts of this journey. Both, in differing ways, are examples of narratives of colonial exploration and are revealing of the process by which explorers perceived, assimilated and appropriated their surroundings. Robinson as a figure has been the subject of some revision and Vivienne Rae-Ellis's biography uses Haydon's work to draw some conclusions on Robinson. It is, however, the long overdue publication of Robinson's complete Port Phillip journals in 1998 that has allowed a detailed comparison of the accounts of the two men.<sup>14</sup> The expedition was a pioneering one and needs to be placed in the full historical context of the opening up of Gippsland. Haydon's own later revision of the episode is also examined for what it says about his evolving relationship with both Australia and his younger self. It is partly because Haydon did not write as an explorer (although he retrospectively revised this position) that his accounts are all the more notable and they reveal much about the genre of the explorer's journal. The application of some

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<sup>12</sup> Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific 1768-1850: A study in the history of art and ideas*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (Oxford, 1960); *Place, Taste and Tradition: A Study of Australian Art since 1788* revised 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Melbourne, 1979); with Terry Smith, *Australian Painting 1788-1970*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (Melbourne, 1991).

<sup>13</sup> Ian McLean, *White Aborigines: Identity Politics in Australian Art* (Melbourne, 1998).

<sup>14</sup> Vivienne Rae-Ellis, *Black Robinson: Protector of the Aborigines* (Melbourne, 1988); Ian D. Clark (ed.), *The Journals of George Augustus Robinson, Chief Protector, Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate*, 6 vols (1998; Ballarat, 2000).

techniques for textual analysis presented by Simon Ryan help reveal the linguistic processes by which explorers tried to describe both their environment and the activity of exploration.<sup>15</sup> In particular, the writing was shaped by the way explorers constructed themselves through a privileged and central point of view. Paul Carter's critique of the traditions of what he terms 'imperial narrative history' illuminates the ways in which Haydon positioned himself through his writing and drawings in the time and place that was early Port Phillip.<sup>16</sup> Further examples of Haydon's art are examined to assess their value as a visual record.

Haydon's account of the Gippsland journey is also worthy of attention at a time when the nature of Aboriginal resistance and the part played by Aborigines in the history of exploration is being reassessed.<sup>17</sup> Haydon's contact with, and attitude towards, the Aboriginal population requires particular examination and is covered in Chapters 2 and 3. He had substantial contact with Aborigines, and with the Aborigines Protectorate of which he disapproved. Largely sympathetic to the plight of the indigene, Haydon's opinions are recorded in his journals and books and must be placed in the context of the intellectual currents of the time which ranged from extreme racism to paternalistic humanitarianism. Haydon's opinions must also be seen against both the influences of his own background and the nature of his colonial activities. His comments on (and construction of) the Aboriginal inhabitants and their status in the colony serve to highlight the effect of British imperialism on indigenous peoples.<sup>18</sup> Conversely, they also suggest ways in which inter-racial contact affected the colonizer. However, heed is taken of David Cannadine's caution against assessing contact with indigenous populations merely in terms of race and colour, and his advocacy of the importance of class and status in all aspects of the British Empire.<sup>19</sup>

An interest in natural history is also a feature of Haydon's relationship with Australia. Although clearly a genuine interest, Haydon's study of flora and fauna was also indicative of the strategies used by colonists during the process of colonisation. These were underpinned by European ideas of classification as a means of imposing

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<sup>15</sup> Simon Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye: How Explorers Saw Australia* (Cambridge, 1996).

<sup>16</sup> Paul Carter, *Living in a New Country: History, Travelling and Language* (London, 1992); *The Road to Botany Bay: An Essay in Spatial History* (London, 1987).

<sup>17</sup> See Henry Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier* (Victoria, 1982); *This Whispering in Our Hearts* (Victoria, 1998); Ryan.

<sup>18</sup> These themes have been partially explored in the writer's MA thesis: Katharine Haydon, *The Emigrant and the Aborigine: An Analysis of colonial attitudes towards the indigenous Australians through the works of George Henry Haydon* (MA thesis. King's College London, University of London, 2001).

<sup>19</sup> David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw their Empire* (London, 2001).

order. John Gascoigne argues that it was ideas of progress and improvement of institutions, of economics, of the land, and of the human race that underwrote many of the origins of Australian (European) society.<sup>20</sup> Robert Dixon explores similar themes through the Scottish Enlightenment, and suggests that the progressive 'course of empire' is a dominant feature in literature, art and explorers' rhetoric during the first fifty years of Australian settlement.<sup>21</sup> Both these approaches have relevance to understanding Haydon's attitude to the Empire in general and Australia in particular. Moreover, some of the manifestations of Enlightenment thought will be seen as applicable to Haydon's life back in England and support the idea that there was a degree of continuity to Haydon's life which bridged colonial frontier and metropolitan Britain.

The returned emigrant is a neglected character in colonial history. Despite a lack of data on those who came back, a number of studies have been attempted on the return flow of people from the colonies.<sup>22</sup> Both Eric Richards and K. S. Inglis have tried to classify the various types of returnee and explore the motivation for return. The essays in Marjory Harper's *Emigrant Homecomings* also attempt to fill the gaps in this area of migration studies.<sup>23</sup> Many still remain, particularly concerning the economic, social and cultural impact those who returned made on their home societies. Chapter 4 considers the reasons for, and process of, return. That Haydon's journals for not only the outward but also the return voyages have survived provides a rare opportunity to compare the process of migrating and returning. The journals are also illustrative of the strategies through which these experiences were both internalised and outwardly projected.

Chapter 5 looks at Haydon as a returned emigrant who played a part in the presentation and interpretation of Australia to a British audience. The emigration industry was in full swing by the late 1840s and Haydon set about capitalizing on it. Although he advertised as an emigration agent he disapproved of methods which encouraged emigration without regard to the suitability of the candidate. However, Haydon did advocate emigration for some and in 1846 he undertook a series of lectures on the subject, making his own contribution to the issues already being aired by the

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<sup>20</sup> Robert Dixon, *The Course of Empire: Neo-Classical Culture in New South Wales, 1788-1860* (Melbourne, 1974).

<sup>21</sup> John Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia* (Cambridge, 2002).

<sup>22</sup> See E. Richards, 'Return Migration and Migrant Strategies in Colonial Australia', in David Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Home or Away? Immigrants in Colonial Australia* (Canberra, 1992); K. S. Inglis, *Australian Colonists: An Exploration of Social History 1788-1878* (Melbourne, 1993); Dudley Baines, *Emigration from Europe 1815-1930* (Basingstoke, 1991).

<sup>23</sup> Marjory Harper (ed.), *Emigrant Homecomings: The Return Movements of Emigrants, 1600-2000* (Manchester, 2005).

likes of Caroline Chisholm, Edward Gibbon Wakefield and Samuel Sidney. When it came to encouraging others to go to Australia, Haydon was to have an influence on potential migrants, his own family, and various friends and acquaintances. F. G. Clarke, in *The Land of Contrarities* (1977), traces the shifts in British attitudes towards Australia from ones of uninterest or disapproval in the first decades of the nineteenth century to later more positive ones. His study underlines the idea that an understanding of emigration and colonization (and attitudes towards the Aboriginal population) must come with an appreciation of how such matters were viewed from the British domestic perspective.<sup>24</sup> Also relevant here is the recent and provocative work of Bernard Porter who argues that the way the British viewed empire (if they viewed it at all) was largely dependent on class and was rarely, at least in the first half of the nineteenth century, about the chauvinistic imperialism that later generations would come to associate with empire.<sup>25</sup> Porter's contentions about the general apathy of the domestic population toward the Empire are predicated on a fairly narrow definition of the terms empire and imperialism which he relates to physical conquest and control.<sup>26</sup> In its application to Haydon and this study, imperialism is taken to have wider and more subtle meanings and to include such diverse elements as scientific exploration, adventure, anthropological interest, Protestantism, administration, and masculinity.

Publication of *Five Years' Experience in Australia Felix* in 1846 was Haydon's contribution to the growing genre of emigrant guides and manuals, and throws up questions concerning what he wrote about Australia and why he wrote it. In both the text and the illustrations there is a tension that must be addressed between Haydon's empirical knowledge and what he felt compelled to present to his audience. Here, and elsewhere, the work of Robert Grant is recognised for its identification of the remarkably consistent set of strategies through which representations of the British settler colonies were produced in Britain.<sup>27</sup>

Despite his intention of returning to Australia, Haydon was to marry and remain in England where he became Steward of the Devon County Lunatic Asylum. Here he also became a founder member of the oldest provincial volunteer corps in the country.

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<sup>24</sup> F. G. Clarke, *The Land of Contrarities: British Attitudes to the Australian Colonies 1828-1855* (Melbourne, 1977).

<sup>25</sup> Bernard Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain* (Oxford, 2004).

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>27</sup> Robert D. Grant, *Representations of British Emigration, Colonisation and Settlement: Imagining Empire, 1800-1860* (Hampshire, 2005).

During these years spent in Exeter it is possible to trace a period of transition during which Haydon put aside any remaining colonial aspirations and settled to a permanent life in England.

Haydon's later fictional work, *The Australian Emigrant: A rambling story containing as much Fact as Fiction* (1854) fuses his imagined and his 'real' experience.<sup>28</sup> A lightweight book in both style and content it has received little attention. Its value today is as an example of early colonial literature, and as such it is examined in detail in Chapter 6. Although this was published post 1850 Haydon is writing about a pre-goldrush era and his text is in a similar vein to Thomas McCombie's *Arabin* (1845) and Alexander Harris's *Settlers and Convicts* (1847).<sup>29</sup> Displaying all the literary conventions typical of such books, *The Australian Emigrant* is illustrative of the process by which perceptions of Australia were constructed in the European imagination. It supports the idea proposed by Coral Lansbury that it was the literature being produced in England that focused portrayals of Australia on life in the bush, and these frequently had little to do with reality.<sup>30</sup> According to Lansbury, the most prominent interpretation was one of Arcady and it emerged in England in the 1850s particularly in the writings of Samuel Sidney and Charles Dickens. Such an Arcadian bush myth was evoked as a reaction to the industrial revolution in Britain which had disturbed the equilibrium of a traditional society based on property and agriculture. Accordingly, Victorian writers looked to a place where there were no factories or mills and in which Arcady could be relocated. It will be seen how Haydon's book fed into this body of work, and supported imperial ambitions.

*The Australian Emigrant* dealt with many of the themes and characters that would later crystallize into what has subsequently been elected as a national identity. This inevitably brings it up against the work of Russel Ward in *The Australian Legend* (1958).<sup>31</sup> Although some of the characteristics that Ward associates with national self-image are present in Haydon's work, Ward's study largely overlooks the likes of Haydon's class and experience in favour of other migrant types, particularly convicts, assisted migrants and later gold-diggers.

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<sup>28</sup> George Henry Haydon, *The Australian Emigrant* (London, 1854).

<sup>29</sup> Thomas McCombie, *Arabin or the Adventures of a Colonist in New South Wales* (London, 1845); Alexander Harris, *Settlers and Convicts: Or, Recollections of Sixteen Years' Labour in the Australian Backwoods* (1847).

<sup>30</sup> Coral Lansbury, *Arcady in Australia: The Evocation of Australia in Nineteenth-Century English Literature* (Melbourne, 1970).

<sup>31</sup> Russel Ward, *The Australian Legend*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Melbourne, 1966).



Chapter 7 covers Haydon's move to London in 1853 when he became Steward of the Royal Hospitals of Bridewell and Bethlem. This was to coincide with a time of reform in lunatic asylums. Haydon took a real interest in the patients and encouraged them in a variety of activities. In particular, he befriended the painter Richard Dadd whose work he influenced. Would-be regicide Edward Oxford was also a patient who attracted Haydon's sympathy and who would provide another, if somewhat extraordinary, link with Melbourne.

Throughout his life Haydon continued as an amateur artist illustrating books and contributing to *Punch* and other magazines. He moved in circles which included other *Punch* artists including John Leech and Charles Keene, as well as Dickens's illustrator George Cruikshank. He was also close to the Sadler's Wells actor Samuel Phelps. Haydon's artistic talent ran in the family (his brother was Samuel Bouverie Haydon, a sculptor whose work can be seen in the Victoria and Albert Museum), but it was not highbrow art that interested him and, as with much of his work, Haydon's sense of humour is very prevalent. This often took the form of making light of adversity and debunking pomposity, both of which are discernible characteristics of Australian and English Victorian humour.<sup>32</sup>

The close association between illustrators and writers brought Haydon into contact with some of the most prominent journalists and social commentators of the day including Charles Dickens. In looking at ways in which the networks of professional artists and writers touched Haydon's life something is revealed about the extent to which Australia featured as a real and imagined destination.

Even through his long career at Bethlem it is possible to detect Haydon's continued engagement with Australia, albeit an Australia frozen for Haydon in the 1840s. It was a version of Australia which he came to equate with youth and freedom. In continuing to write, draw and speak on Australia, Haydon sought to establish his expertise on the subject notwithstanding that he was increasingly distanced from Port Phillip by time and by his own imagined version of that place. It will be seen that this continued revisiting and revising of Australia served a number of functions. But Haydon was not necessarily typical of the returned colonists and in many ways he was determined to avoid their circles.

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<sup>32</sup> For features of Australian humour see Dorothy Jones and Barry Andrews, 'Australian Humour', in Laurie Hergenhan (ed.), *The Penguin New Literary History of Australia* (Ringwood, Victoria, 1987), pp. 60-76.

When not undertaking his duties at Bethlem, qualifying as a barrister, or devoting time to his wife and five children, Haydon undertook a variety of other activities which indicate his gentlemanly sensibilities and high-Victorian values. His continued interest in nature and his membership of various clubs and societies displayed the masculine pursuits of the middle-class Victorian. These various activities help form a picture of an inquisitive, enlightened, philanthropic, intellectual and energetic man, with many of these attributes being traceable to his time in Australia. Though very much at home in his London life, Haydon remained palpably attracted to the camaraderie and simplicities of the Australian bush.

Two modern texts stand out as being particularly helpful in locating Haydon in his own time and place. For the Australian section, A. G. L. Shaw's *A History of the Port Phillip District* provides a comprehensive background to the social, political and economic scene of the Port Phillip of Haydon's day.<sup>33</sup> Shaw's focus on the community of Port Phillip and inclusion of a wide variety of colonial characters – not just the high achievers - helps identify Haydon's place in that community. For the English side of the study, *The Mid-Victorian Generation, 1846-1886* by K. Theodore Hoppen provides a sense of how what was going on in England helped to shape Haydon's relationship to Australia.<sup>34</sup> In particular, Hoppen deals with the changing relationship of the State to society. His work is also pertinent for its focus on the emergence of the middle-classes and middle-class preoccupations.

The final chapter deals with the end of Haydon's life and looks at his influence on his own children. The study concludes with an evaluation of Haydon's contribution to the history of nascent Melbourne and its environs, as well as his contribution to the representation of Australia and how it was perceived in England. It will define his legacy to subsequent historians of Australia; it will seek to present him as an example of a returned emigrant and question how his relationship with Australia and the wider British world helped shape him as an individual back in England; it will demonstrate the ways in which his 'Anglo-Australianess' manifested itself; and it will show that Haydon left his mark on both sides of the world.

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<sup>33</sup> A. G. L. Shaw, *A History of the Port Phillip District: Victoria Before Separation* (Melbourne, 1996).

<sup>34</sup> K. Theodore Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation 1846-1886* (Oxford, 1998).

## Chapter 1: Departure and Arrival

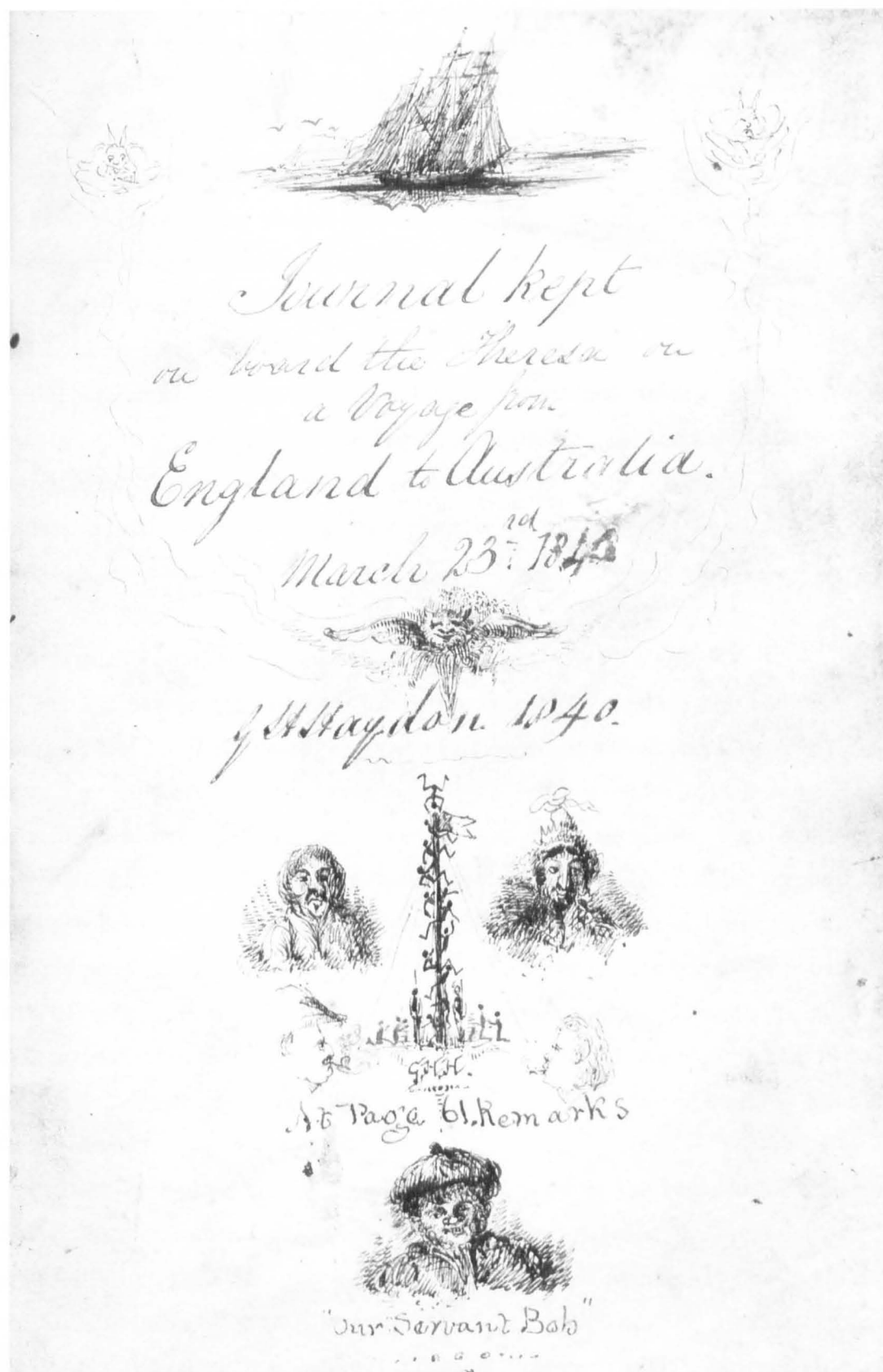


Figure 1.1 Title page from the *Theresa* journal, 11 x 18, HC.

The decision to travel halfway around the globe was one neither taken lightly nor executed with ease. For Haydon the part played by his father was crucial not only because of the financial support he provided, but because of the sense of the imperial world Samuel was able to impart to his son. Other influential factors were ones of economics and of geography.

Once away from home and family Haydon maintained a dialogue with them through his journal. This was his first contribution to recording the migrant experience, and an analysis of it is revealing not only of the physical and the psychological process of travelling from the known to the unknown, but also of the cultural performance of the shipboard diary.

Safe arrival was the first hurdle for the migrant, and sighting the New World a seminal moment which marked the beginning of the struggle to comprehend a strange environment. That the emigrant arrived bearing all the cultural baggage of the mother country is well understood, but the impact of the voyage itself in shaping the new arrivals is less easy to identify.

### **Like father like son**

In later life Samuel Haydon had become interested in genealogy and had traced the family of Haydon in the county of Devon back to the thirteenth century and beyond to its origins in Norfolk. Samuel was born in 1779 the son of a Master serge (cloth) manufacturer and, aged thirteen, was apprenticed to his father. Exeter was then something of a centre for serge production and export. Samuel disliked the work and after one failed attempt at running away he was, at the age of eighteen and with his father's permission, allowed to follow his own inclination. He left for Plymouth and was taken on board HMS *Cambridge* as Captain's clerk, at some point being commissioned as a purser. Samuel would later claim he had originally wanted to be an artist and although this never happened his ability to sketch proved useful in recording naval scenes.

Samuel was in the Cape Colony in the midst of the Napoleonic Wars and, though recording in his buried bottle that Britain was at peace, the Treaty of Amiens signed in March 1802 gave only a short respite. Indeed, on returning to England in 1803 one of the ships in his convoy was captured by the French. Samuel also saw action in the battle of Algiers in 1816, before spending the final years of his naval career in South

America where he was stationed at the victualling depot in Rio de Janeiro.<sup>1</sup> In 1814 Samuel had purchased a small ship, the *Notre Dame de Misericorde*, in partnership with his cousin and another for £770.<sup>2</sup> This vessel of 262 tons was itself a 'good and lawful prize' taken from the French at the fall of Genoa. Family legend says the ship was licensed for privateering, a form of authorized piracy against Britain's enemies, but there is no record of what became of the *Notre Dame de Misericorde* and it was not something Samuel spoke of in later life.

Throughout this study it will be contended that George Henry Haydon identified strongly with empire and an imperial ideology. However, according to Bernard Porter this must be considered untypical of the general domestic British society much of which was too concerned with what was going on at home to worry about far-flung places. If Porter's claim to this apathy about empire has any validity, then Samuel's influence on his son must be seen as having been all the greater, and Porter himself acknowledges the effect that 'ancillary agents of empire', such as sailors, traders and missionaries, had on their immediate circles.<sup>3</sup>

Although married in 1812, Samuel had been away at sea for much of the first decade of married life.<sup>4</sup> Three children had been born before he retired in 1821, and George Henry was the first baby in the family post-retirement arriving on 26 August 1822. The next child died in infancy but four more survived making a total of eight; three boys and five girls (see Appendix I). During his retirement Samuel managed his residential properties in Heavitree and became a supporter of the Reform Movement. He was a particularly active campaigner for the abolition of slavery which was finally achieved in 1833.<sup>5</sup> Such commitment to the anti-slavery movement and emancipation was common at the time and can be associated with ideas of middle-class masculinity which encompassed a work ethic, belief in individual freedom and protection of the weak and dependent.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 'Biographic sketch of Samuel Haydon' by George Haydon, HC.

<sup>2</sup> Bill of sale of the ship *Notre Dame de Misericorde*, HC. Samuel Haydon's share of the purchase price probably came from 'prize money' possibly from the capture of the French ship *La Union* in 1803.

<sup>3</sup> B. Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists*, pp. 25-7.

<sup>4</sup> Samuel Haydon married Elizabeth Roberts of Crediton, Devon on 31 December 1812.

<sup>5</sup> Although the slave trade had been illegal in the British Empire from 1807, the ownership of slaves was not finally banned until 1833. Samuel claimed to have worn out a pair of shoes in attempting to get the petition for abolition signed. Samuel Haydon, letter to George Henry Haydon, 5 December 1861, HC.

<sup>6</sup> Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830-1867* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 23.

Like his father, George Henry Haydon had an artistic talent and this no doubt influenced his choice of prospective profession. Haydon's formal schooling ended in 1837 when, aged fifteen, he was apprenticed to the Exeter architect Charles Hedgeland.<sup>7</sup> This lasted less than two years and his indenture was cancelled in April 1839. Samuel appears to have been a liberal and indulgent father when it came to his children; having broken his own apprenticeship he was hard put to object to his son doing the same. Of this aborted career in architecture, Haydon's obituary would later state that he 'relinquished that profession' and emigrated to Australia, but there is no indication as to whether he abandoned his apprenticeship in order to emigrate or whether he emigrated as a result of this false start. Certainly there is a gap of eleven months between his leaving Hedgeland and leaving England. Perhaps in view of Haydon's youth it was felt prudent to wait. Other considerations would have been financial for Samuel not only had to meet the cost of a sea passage in the region of £40, but also provide funds with which to get his son started on arrival.

### **Taking leave**

What lay behind Haydon's decision to emigrate, and why in particular to Australia, is an indicator of both the personal and broader impetus for migration. In respect of the first point, it is fair to assume that the young Haydon had grown up on a rich diet of his father's naval adventures. Perhaps a certain wanderlust had been instilled as well as an awareness of the scope of the Empire. There is no indication that Haydon wished to follow his father in a naval career and, even had he wanted it, England was enjoying a post-Napoleonic era of military peace with naval officers being paid off rather than recruited. A more likely reason for Haydon's departure is a financial one. The late 1830s was a time of unprecedented economic depression in Great Britain. Devon, being an agricultural county, had no industrial centre but suffered from changing agricultural practices which required fewer workers. Depressed wages, enclosed common land, and the hated Speenhamland system of outdoor relief, had all added to the misery of the agricultural labourer. This was a time of uncertainty, of political and social unrest which reached all sectors of society, and the professional classes as well as the labouring classes were increasingly looking to emigration as a way to improve their lot. Assurances of employment, high wages and opportunities were being offered overseas.

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<sup>7</sup> Hedgeland's work can be seen in St Petrock's church, Exeter.

With the introduction of schemes for government-assisted emigration during the 1830s and the bounty system in 1831, emigration was becoming increasingly popular. By 1840 emigration was in vogue, the colonies beckoned (whilst conditions at home pushed) and there were plenty among those already departed who were sending back information and encouragement for others to follow. Haydon's location in maritime Devon meant overseas news was fresh and plentiful.<sup>8</sup>

If economics and opportunity were motivation for Haydon's migration the question still remains as to why Australia, and particularly why Australia over the nearer and cheaper America? Patriotism is one possibility, or at least a reason for not going to the United States which was by then a foreign destination and one which might not have met with approval from a naval father. Despite its popularity as a destination in neighbouring Cornwall,<sup>9</sup> Canada had the disadvantage that much of the available land had been taken by 1840, and it was becoming thought of as a pauper destination. In addition, grievances against colonial government had erupted into a rebellion in Upper Canada in 1838. On a more practical level, Haydon's location in Devon and proximity to Plymouth were probably determining factors. The port of Plymouth overwhelmingly, and largely by virtue of its geographical position, dealt with migration to the Antipodes.<sup>10</sup> Despite its convict stigma Australia had the attraction of newness and this was particularly true of Port Phillip. Prior to 1839 the nascent Melbourne (only officially named so by Governor Bourke two years earlier) had received no settlers (or even convicts) direct from the United Kingdom but was instead populated by those who crossed Bass Strait from Van Diemen's land, or who came overland from Sydney. Not until pressure was placed on Sydney was representation made to London to send migrant ships direct and the first of these, the *David Clarke*, only arrived in late 1839.<sup>11</sup> By 1840 reports were emerging of the boom in land prices being enjoyed in Port Phillip.

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<sup>8</sup> For nineteenth-century emigration see Charlotte Erickson, *Leaving England: Essays on British Migration* (Ithaca, 1994); Eric Richards, *Britannia's Children: Emigration from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland since 1600* (London, 2004); Martyn Brown, *Australia Bound! The Story of West Country Connections 1688-1888* (Bradford-on-Avon, 1988).

<sup>9</sup> Philip Payton, *The Cornish Overseas* (Fowey, 1999), pp. 72-84. Payton notes that migration from Cornwall was partly motivated by a strong Methodist tradition and desire for greater religious freedom, but disapproval of penal settlements reduced the attraction of Australia, at least initially, as a destination for the Cornish. This, together with issues of trading networks and local skills, suggests ways in which trends in migration could be very area specific.

<sup>10</sup> Erickson, *Leaving England*, p. 205, table 5.14.

<sup>11</sup> Shaw, *A History of the Port Phillip District*, pp. 145-6.

Haydon set sail from Plymouth Sound on 24 March 1840 on the barque *Theresa*.<sup>12</sup> At only 490 tons she was about average for an emigrant ship, though absolutely tiny by comparison to modern-day ocean-going vessels. She carried 216 passengers of whom nineteen (including Haydon) were cabin passengers and the remainder steerage. The majority of those in steerage described themselves as 'farm servants' although this might not have been a true reflection of their occupations but rather a response to the offer of assisted passages for agricultural workers.

Cabin passenger or steerage, paying or assisted, all faced the same twelve thousand mile voyage. There would, however, have been a difference in the perception of what emigration might mean. In its strict sense 'to emigrate' means to leave one's own country and settle in another, and although there is no suggestion that settlement need be permanent, this must have been implicit in the understanding of most of the assisted emigrants who realistically saw little prospect of returning home. In fact Haydon, like most cabin passengers, confines the term 'emigrant' only to the assisted passengers, suggesting the nineteenth-century use of the term also had class-based connotations. Unassisted passengers were keen to emphasize the fact that they had paid for their passage.<sup>13</sup> Emigrant was also a term which distinguished the migrant from the traveller or explorer.

As the son of a naval man, Haydon would have had some preparation for the practicalities of the journey. To what extent he anticipated returning will be considered later but whether or not return was an option, long voyages held danger and at the point of departure farewells would need to be taken as though they were final. In fact the perilous nature of the voyage was more imagined than real and the number of emigrant ships lost on the Australian run during the whole of the nineteenth century was remarkably few, and most of those were wrecked on shore rather than lost in deep sea. Sickness was a more real threat and lives were sacrificed to various diseases including scarlet fever, smallpox, typhus, typhoid and less commonly cholera. Even so, unless unlucky enough to be on board a ship that had an epidemic, the chances of

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<sup>12</sup> Michael Cannon, *Perilous Voyages to the New Land* (Mornington; Vic., 1997), p. 9. A barque is a sailing ship with the rear mast fore-and-aft rigged (i.e. sails set lengthways) and the remaining masts square rigged. This was more efficient than the square rigged sailing ships and required fewer seamen.

<sup>13</sup> Don Charlwood, *The Long Farewell* (Ringwood, Victoria, 1983), p. 107.



disembarking alive in Australia were excellent, and mortality rates better than on the American route.<sup>14</sup>

There is no record of Haydon's actual leave taking. Departure could be a protracted business as it was usual for cabin passengers to remain ashore in lodgings until their ship's departure was imminent which could be some days after the steerage passengers had embarked.<sup>15</sup> Once at sea Haydon, like many nineteenth-century migrants, fulfilled his duty to provide an account of the voyage.

### **Outward bound: Recording migration**

In his extensive work on the shipboard diary Andrew Hassam has identified a shift in the value placed on emigrant journals as cultural artefacts. More attention is now being paid to them; libraries and museums are more interested in preserving them, and historians more interested in analysing them particularly for what they can do in reconstructing the migrant experience. Hassam estimates there are in the region of 850 shipboard journals covering nineteenth-century voyages to Australia in libraries, archives and private hands.<sup>16</sup> These are, however, substantially gender, class and ethnically biased, the majority having been written by British male cabin passengers.

As the ship sailed from Plymouth so began the first of Haydon's shipboard journals (see figure 1.1 above). The journal itself is a small green hard-backed book. It is written in ink, illustrated with the occasional sketch, and it is the original diary and not a fair copy made at some later date. Like many such journals it was subsequently sent home to England to be read by the family, and this was an important factor in shaping the contents.<sup>17</sup> At about 8,500 words the journal is neither particularly long nor short, and written in 1840 it is a relatively early example of a shipboard diary.<sup>18</sup>

What is immediately striking about the journal is just how absolutely typical of the genre it is. Both Hassam and Grant have identified a number of features which support a common structure. These include a slow start due to seasickness, sighting the

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<sup>14</sup> Robin F. Haines, *Life and Death in the Age of Sail* (Sydney, 2003), p. 74. Haines estimates that 98 per cent of all migrants to Victoria and New South Wales between 1848 and 1860 arrived alive.

<sup>15</sup> Charlwood, p. 94.

<sup>16</sup> Hassam, *Sailing to Australia*, pp. 11-12. Haydon's journal is not included in this figure.

<sup>17</sup> The journal reached Samuel Haydon at Exeter in December 1842. Haydon also kept a separate sketchbook during the voyage but this has not survived.

<sup>18</sup> Hassam, *No Privacy For Writing: Shipboard Diaries 1852-1879*, p. xv. The length of shipboard journals varies from between 5,000 to over 20,000 words. Some pages are missing from Haydon's journal so it was probably nearer 9,000. Of the 217 diaries studied by Hassam and Charlwood less than eight per cent are from 1840 or earlier.

Canary Islands, flying fish landing on the ship, the calm of the doldrums, crossing the equator, Cape Pigeons, the Island of St Paul, and the first sight of the coast of Australia.<sup>19</sup> There was also the obsessive and often tedious need for the emigrant to record the wind direction, the weather, the food, and every type of bird and fish seen. Haydon's journal contains all these elements and, whilst this does not perhaps make for riveting reading, Hassam suggests such details fulfilled a particular function. They were given as something readily understood by a home audience.<sup>20</sup> It was easier and more inclusive to describe the known than the unknown. That much of the detail recorded was so commonplace may in fact have been a response to the fear of the unknown: anxiety was displaced by concentrating on the mundane. Haydon later came to have his own theory about this reflecting during the homeward voyage: 'at sea every trivial occurrence magnifies itself into an event'. (*AJ*, 1 April 1845)

Recording the various birds and fish was such a strong feature of the emigrant journal (Haydon's journal includes the obligatory measurement of the wingspan of the Albatross: 'ten feet tip to wing' (*TJ*, 17 May)), that some further explanation is required. The empirical recording of natural history follows the conventions of the exploration journals popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and exemplified by that of Captain Cook.<sup>21</sup>



Figure 1.2 'Albatross in the act of biting at a bit of pork', 8 x 5, *TJ*, HC.

This need to name, measure and categorise can be seen as a particularly Eurocentric response. It was a way of bringing, or rather imposing, reasoned order on new

<sup>19</sup> Hassam, *Sailing to Australia*, p. 94; Grant, *Representations of British Emigration*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>20</sup> Hassam, *Sailing to Australia*, pp. 81, 82 & 183.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

environments and, as will be seen throughout this study, was part of the tradition of Enlightenment thinking that informed how Haydon saw his world.<sup>22</sup>

The interest in birdlife also fulfilled a more physical need and allowed for some gentlemanly sport in the form of the shooting of Albatross or baiting of Cape Pigeon, providing entertainment as well as fresh food:

In calm weather there are an immense number of sea birds flying about the vessel. They afford capital sport and serve to keep up the little I know of shooting. We have two capital shots with a rifle on board. (*TJ*, 27 April)

Recording latitude and longitude was also a prominent feature of the record of shipboard life. The ship's progress was obviously of importance to the emigrant though it was often more a psychological progress than a noticeably physical one across a featureless sea.<sup>23</sup> Likewise, following the ship's movement on a chart was a favourite pastime and Haydon noted that he 'found by the chart that there are two islands called Trinidad.' (*TJ*, 8 May) The fact that so often the only thing recorded in a day's entry may have been the ship's estimated location or direction of the wind suggests the very act of keeping the journal was also a means of plotting progress. It was not uncommon for ships' captains to become reticent about giving out navigational information as passengers came to see themselves as experts on nautical matters and not above questioning decisions. 'Everything' complained Haydon 'with regard to our progress is kept very secret for why I don't know.' (*TJ*, 30 June) Carter suggests that it is precisely this concern with the ship as the place of the journey that shows the extent to which the traveller's journal (and here he includes the land-based explorers' journals with their focus on the campsite) was a record of travelling and not a record of the external places seen whilst travelling.<sup>24</sup>

Haydon's journal was littered with indignation as to the conditions of the ship and the misrepresentation of Mr Marshall the shipping agent with whom he had negotiated his passage:

I would not recommend any person that could afford a cabin passage to proceed to Australia as an intermediate in Mr Marshall's ships, he not being very particular to specific things. (*TJ*, 5 April)

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<sup>22</sup> Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia*, pp. 86-7.

<sup>23</sup> Hassam, *Sailing to Australia*, p. 91.

<sup>24</sup> Carter, *The Road To Botany Bay*, p. 141.

The cook provided by Mr Marshall was a dirty brute. (*TJ*, 19 June)

The fresh meat that Marshall speaks of in his bill consists of a kind of broth known on board by the name of Bilge soup. (*TJ*, 28 June)

Haydon may have had a point as Marshall had a reputation for not adhering to shipping regulations.<sup>25</sup> Other complaints were often things that suggest offence to Haydon's young and somewhat tender gentlemanly sensibilities, or perhaps such sensibilities were being asserted via the expression of such sentiments:

The women very unruly (*TJ*, 8 April)

No service again Mr Davies [the chaplain] appears very inattentive to his duty.<sup>26</sup> (*TJ*, 26 April)

A girl of the name Morton, one of the steerage passengers, was confined to her cabin for using abusive language. (*TJ*, 4 June)

Some of our mess even eat and smoke at the same time. (*TJ*, 15 June)

Yet behind these comments lay more than just a priggish disapproval. Haydon was displaying his anxiety at the disturbance to the natural order and codes of conduct to which he was used. The more physically distanced he became from the society that valued these codes the more he clung to them, and, moreover, he showed to those at home that he was clinging to them. Such anxiety was also displayed in attitudes toward the ship's accommodation. Having paid for an intermediate cabin Haydon was somewhat dismayed to find he was expected to share it with nine others, some of whom he considered to be not quite gentlemen.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, he travelled in more comfort than the passengers crammed together in steerage below.

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<sup>25</sup> Erickson, *Leaving England*, pp. 171 & 182. John Marshall was a London ship owner who had handled most of the bounty trade for the government and was well known for unscrupulous methods of attracting emigrants, including the distribution of pamphlets disparaging every other colony but New South Wales.

<sup>26</sup> Helen R. Woolcock, *Rites of Passage: Emigration to Australia in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1989), p. 106. The Church of England service had to be read publicly each Sunday on British vessels though Woolcock suggests the reality, as Haydon discovered, was often quite different.

<sup>27</sup> R. Grant, *Representations of British Emigration*, p. 2. Intermediate passengers were often considered of rather indeterminate social position.



Figure 1.3 Haydon's cabin', 11 x 7, *TJ*, HC.

It may not be rightly understood that the poop is appropriated wholly by the cabin passengers. Yet the steerage are allowed to intrude themselves upon the quarter deck. Altho' this is not allowed, we have no means of putting them off and the officers appear quite negligent whether they come or not. (*TJ*, 28 May)

Haydon's comments point to the spatial relationship between ship, social class and category of passage. The cabin passengers formed the top layer of shipboard society and only the cabin passengers had the run of the comparatively spacious poop deck, whilst those in steerage were confined to the main deck. As Hassam points out: 'Given the correlation between accommodation space and a hierarchy of social status, the exclusivity emigrants bought with a ticket rested primarily on their power to expel from their physical space emigrants of a lower passenger status.'<sup>28</sup>

Not only was there disruption to class order but also to traditional gender roles as seen in these two pairs of references to washing and baking:

Had a shirt washed on board for which I paid 6d, which I consider very reasonable for nautical washing. (*TJ*, 3 June)

I have not dirtied very much clothes having occasionally enacted the part of my own washerwoman. This is a queer life. I little thought I should be where I am 12 months ago or that I should ever have to wash my own shirts. (*TJ*, 21 June)

Made bread for the first time in my life today. Not very good. (*TJ*, 23 April)

<sup>28</sup> Hassam, *Sailing to Australia*, p. 116.

I have made a sago pudding and find that it is very good. I should like some of my old "chums" to see me now up to my elbows in dough with making bread etc. I fancy they would (some of them only) never speak to me again. (*TJ*, 19 June)

That Haydon was addressing an imagined audience is obvious. What is more, he was trying to project himself to that audience as the same person who left home, that is to say one who would not have dreamt of doing his own cooking and washing.<sup>29</sup> At the same time, that he is now doing these tasks indicates a change, or at least adaptation to circumstances. Although in many ways the ship remained a little bit of Britain as it travelled across the oceans, preparation was already underway for a new way of life.

Conspicuously absent from Haydon's journal is any reflection on the decision to leave and any speculation as to what the future might hold.<sup>30</sup> Whilst it is important not to impose twenty-first-century ideas of self and self-analysis onto nineteenth-century diarists, this absence of confided hopes and fears is nevertheless striking. Grant sees this as evidence of these journals reflecting not just a sea passage but a psychological passage toward the new colonial world through a largely predefined narrative.<sup>31</sup> Perhaps too a ship's isolation placed it in a limbo which made it hard to connect to either past or future.

Haydon may have avoided overt expressions of his own fear but he employed a number of more subtle strategies through which to express his feelings. Focusing on the reaction of others was one. On Monday 27 April Haydon recorded that a man in steerage had symptoms of fever which was later diagnosed as typhus. The man subsequently died but not before fever had spread to twelve other passengers. Even so there was no contemplation of what a typhus epidemic could mean on board ship.<sup>32</sup> The incident clearly disturbed Haydon but he expressed it in the form of surprise that the death of a man, an Irishman, made so little impression on the others. The man was thrown overboard without, at his own request, a prayer. (Presumably, as a Catholic, a Protestant prayer would not have been welcomed and the man would have taken the precaution of receiving absolution prior to departure.) Haydon returned to the subject a

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<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 149-50. The ways in which Haydon expressed his anxiety are typical of those identified by Hassam.

<sup>30</sup> Hassam also notes this as a feature of emigrant diaries.

<sup>31</sup> R. Grant, *Representations of British Emigration*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>32</sup> Haines, *Life and Death in the Age of Sail*, p. 124. Typhus, not to be confused with typhoid, was transmitted via the bite of the body louse (although this was not then known) and consequently it occurred in crowded and unsanitary conditions.

few days later expressing shock at the cook's admission to being glad not to have to make any more gruel for the sick man.

On another occasion Haydon communicates his own feelings through a fellow passenger:

This evening being tired and going to bed earlier than usual, as I was getting into bed a heavy sea hit the vessel and one of my mess mates being in bodily fear that the vessel was going to capsize seized me hold [sic] by the rump nor could all my threats or shakes oblige him to desist until the vessel got upright again. (TJ, 12 April)

Haydon's own fear stands behind the humour of this entry and humour was, like the tendency to record the mundane, another device for coping with that fear.<sup>33</sup>

So far it has been seen that in as much as the journal acted as a repository for fears and anxiety they were camouflaged. Lack of privacy also played its part in this lack of candour.



Figure1.4 Sketch of Haydon writing his journal, 6 x 5, TJ, HC.

Could my friends behold the position I am writing this day's journal in they would be somewhat astonished. Behold me then, having elevated myself in my bed berth and converted my tin box into a writing desk, writing with all the gravity of a sage. I fear from the look of this that some will think that I am in the clouds, therefore have given them a full and particular description of my "whereabouts". (TJ, 13 June)

<sup>33</sup> Charlwood, *The Long Farewell*, p. 125. Charlwood also notes the use of humour in the face of adversity in shipboard journals.

Both the extract and the sketch are self-referential. That Haydon was writing in his journal about writing in his journal is another indication of the enforced inward focus of the journal in the absence of outwardly noteworthy places and events.

I have managed to keep out of party quarrels as much as possible and would advise anybody making a passage in any ship to do the same. There are many duels to come off in Port Phillip, but to all appearances they will end in smoke.  
(*TJ*, May 27)

As Haydon wrote this he complained that he was overlooked by two 'very impudent' cabin boys. Fortunately for him they could not read. When it came to his fellow travellers Haydon acknowledged his obligation to his audience back home and felt required to give descriptions of some of them. However, in the absence of privacy and trust in some of his cabin mates, he was probably circumspect in what he wrote. Between 6 and 13 June six entries have been carefully cut from the journal which, although this may have happened after the voyage, suggests that the journal could not be considered a secure place. Of his fellow cabin passengers he wrote:

The generality of them appears little better than persons who know of little or no gentlemanly feeling or if they do they never exercise it on board. Perhaps the best persons in the cabin are two brothers of the name of Boursiquot - at least they act the gentleman.<sup>34</sup> Of the two Mr Reynolds I have the best opinion. There are others, but I will place them under the first mentioned lot. (*TJ*, 2 June)

When things started to go missing from the intermediate cabin 'suspicions' [were] strongly raised against certain brothers' (*TJ*, 26 April). With the officers Haydon was reasonably impressed. Captain Walter Young was 'a very reserved man and is liked pretty well by everybody' (*TJ*, 1 June).

Notwithstanding Haydon's grumbles and anxieties there is also evidence that shipboard life was not devoid of fun. A 'Free and Easy' was enjoyed as the ship passed the equator and Neptune came on board for the ceremony of 'crossing the line'. (*TJ*, 24 April) By the payment of three shillings each Haydon and the other cabin passengers were able to avoid the indignation of the traditional ritual which involved being forced to take a pill of tar, drink seawater, and be shaved.

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<sup>34</sup> One of these was George D'Arley Boursiquot who was to become the proprietor of the *Port Phillip Patriot* in 1845.



Towards the end of the journey supplies were starting to run short. Haydon had burnt all his candles but had managed to retain his store of sago, tea, coffee and chocolate (all produce of empire incidentally) for after arrival. It was with much relief that the *Theresa* sighted the coast of Australia on 6 July when Cape Otway could just be made out. For Haydon, like many, it was a momentous occasion and he had to rely on his education and cultural references to describe it:

It has a very noble appearance. The high cliffs from the shore and the black looking forests from behind, thrown out by a splendid clear Italian like sky, would make a fine picture. (*TJ*, 8 July)

Haydon had no more seen an Italian sky than he had an Australian one but his reliance on the conventions of aesthetics to describe his new environment was typical of the well-educated emigrant conversant with the classical traditions of landscape.<sup>35</sup> It demonstrates how the New World had to be processed through the Old. Yet there is more to it than that: the desire to see land after many weeks at sea was so strong that any land would be beautiful, a point not lost on Haydon. In his later account of arrival at Port Phillip he wrote:

The sea-sick eyes of the passengers dwelt upon the landscape with that delight which possibly only a painter may partially comprehend; four months upon the ocean however, will discover many beauties in nature, which else must remain hidden. Dark sombre woods, which clothed parts of the coast, even to the water's edge, were pronounced "beautiful" and "enchanted;" and by the time they had neared Hobson's Bay, the effect was no more than if so much green baize had been spread before the weary eyes that were tracing the vessel's progress.<sup>36</sup>

This need to see the land as attractive must also have stemmed from the need to validate the decision to make the journey, although interestingly Charlwood notes that later arrivals were less enamoured of the approach to Melbourne as the town's development destroyed the surrounding countryside.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Hassam, *Sailing to Australia*, pp. 163-6.

<sup>36</sup> Haydon, *The Australian Emigrant*, p. 29.

<sup>37</sup> Charlwood, *The Long Farewell*, p. 245.



Figure 1.5 The entrance to Port Phillip Bay, 11 x 3, *TJ*, HC.

By July 8 the entrance to Port Phillip Bay could be seen, but the dangers of the voyage were not yet over. An offshore wind prevented entrance to the bay and pushed the ship back out into Bass Strait and almost onto King Island (which marked the western entrance to the strait), the site of a number of shipwrecks. On 11 July the winds were even stronger:

I heard Mr West tell the sailors to be ready as the next time he called them it might be for their lives. Drifting very fast in shore; how it will all end God only knows. Some of the sailors appear to look anxious and frightened. I find myself pretty cool since this is the first actual danger I have ever been in. I shall now go to bed trusting God to deliver us. (*TJ*, 11 July)

It took a further seven days before the *Theresa* passed through the Heads and reached anchorage at Williamstown, and even then not before she had hit a sandbank and had a near miss with some rocks.

Although Haydon continued to keep a journal after his arrival in Australia he brought the account of the voyage to a definite end with 'Finis'. The final entries are a strange mix of the romantic and the prosaic:

I suppose I may reckon on my voyage being nearly over and am now going to commence another voyage – the Voyage of Life. God grant it may be a prosperous one. (*TJ*, 18 July)

Anchored at Port Phillip. Went on shore in the afternoon. Every thing expensive. (*TJ*, 19 July)



Figure1.6 'Happy is the man who on a leaf can dine', 11 x 7, TJ, HC.

It is just possible to make out the figure of 10,000/ on the wing of the bird Haydon is about to shoot, presumably the size of the fortune he hoped to 'bag' in Australia. In true colonial style the land has been claimed with the planting of a flag.

The voyage out was an episode in itself and had to be recorded as such. Hassam sees this common structure of the containment of the voyage within a narrative that has a beginning, middle and an end as part of the process by which the emigrant constructed the journey, contained it, and ultimately controlled it.<sup>38</sup> For Haydon, as for the other migrants, reaching Australia meant he was no longer an emigrant but had become an immigrant. It was a new episode which necessitated a metaphoric and literal new page.

<sup>38</sup> Hassam, *Sailing to Australia*, pp. 4 & 51.

## Arrival

Haydon's journal ended where the voyage did, at Williamstown, and it was not until he wrote *The Australian Emigrant* that he records an impression of arrival in Melbourne through his fictional passengers. Again he described it with an artist's eye:

On reaching that part of the Yarra indicated, several low huts were seen, on either bank of the river, standing close to the water's edge. On a beautiful green hill (Bateman's [sic] Hill), which rose on their left they could distinguish a building of a better class; further up the stream, and on a parallel line with it, were several edifices built of brick; but the greater part of the best houses were of weatherboard. There were also some very doubtful-looking erections, unlike dwellings, but too good for piggeries. In reply to an inquiry addressed to the captain, he informed his passengers that they were merchants' stores. Amongst the buildings were large stumps, with the parent stems laid low by their sides, cumbering the ground. Gigantic trees dotted the undulating country in the distance, and with tents pitched here and there made the back-ground of the picture. Huge heaps of heavy timber, piled up high above some of the humbler huts, were burning furiously, and dense columns of smoke were so numerous, that one might easily have imagined the town was on fire. Thus does civilization mark her first inroads in a new country.<sup>39</sup>

'Civilization', in comparison to the welcomed first sighting of the landscape, was clearly a bit of a disappointment.

Arrival may well have marked the start of colonial life but it did not necessarily erase the impact of the voyage. Undoubtedly for some the fear of repeating such an experience made return to England a physical impossibility, but Nadel questions whether there were ways in which the voyage itself shaped the character of the individual and by extension Australian society. Gambling and drinking, two oft-noted vices of the colonies, were habits thought to be acquired on board ship. On a more positive note, reading habits and the appreciation of books were also by-products of the length and tedium of the voyage. Religious tolerance in the colonies has been seen as a result of the free mixing of the Irish Catholics and English Protestants on board ship. Independence, enterprise, equality and fellowship are other features of the colonial character which have been traced back to the voyage out though Nadel recognises that enterprise may well have been inevitable amongst a group of people who chose to leave

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<sup>39</sup> Haydon, *Five Years' Experience in Australia Felix*, p. 45; Suzanne Falkiner, *The Writer's Landscape: Settlement* (East Roseville, NSW, 1992), pp. 147-8. Falkiner uses Haydon's description as an example of the reaction of new arrivals as they are transported up the Yarra to the settlement of Melbourne.

their homes in search of a better life. Similarly equality may also have had more to do with working-class and convict solidarity than anything acquired on the ship.<sup>40</sup>

In the absence of more substantive evidence these ideas of the impact of the voyage on colonial characteristics must be tentatively made. Nevertheless, they may still have some relevance to Haydon. Whilst neither a gambler nor a heavy drinker Haydon did acquire his life-long habit of smoking a pipe from the months spent on board the *Theresa*, notwithstanding the fact that by the end of the voyage he was forced to smoke tea rather than tobacco. As for his reading habits, he certainly had them though whether cultivated at home or on board ship is hard to say. Haydon recorded having read *Kenilworth* and *The Last of the Mohicans* during the voyage.

Whilst there is a certain logic to the idea that a communal facing of hardship would be a levelling and bonding experience, there is definitely no evidence in Haydon's journal that the endurance of the voyage enhanced feelings of fellowship. In fact it was quite the opposite, although he might have agreed that independence was a characteristic fostered on board ship:

I have learnt one lesson: that is not to trust to anybody else for help but if possible to be independent. (*TJ*, 19 June)

Religious tolerance was characteristic of Haydon though again this may equally have been instilled or acquired elsewhere.<sup>41</sup> Despite his complaints that the Irish, along with all the steerage passengers, were unruly and dirty, Haydon was amused by them: "Bedad," one of the Irish said to me to day, "I'm as glad by Jasus as if I had two quarts of Potteen in my old skin." (*TJ*, July 5) When he came to write *The Australian Emigrant* (see Chapter 6) some years later Mick, the large, good-natured Irishman is given a sympathetic and heroic part and was clearly inspired by the Irish Haydon had met on board and in the colony.

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<sup>40</sup> Nadel, *Australia's Colonial Culture*, pp. 51-3.

<sup>41</sup> Hassam, *No Privacy for Writing*, p. xxi. Hassam suggests that the organisation of groups of emigrants into messes according to religion stimulated competition between them and therefore no unity to act against the captain.



Figure 1.7 'Specimen of some of the Irish', 9 x 9, TJ, HC.

What emerges from an assessment of the reasons behind Haydon's decision to emigrate is the influence of his father, not necessarily because he encouraged him to go, if indeed he did, but because he was a man who had an enlightened curiosity about the world and a fundamental belief in the scheme of empire. This legacy to his son is something that will be returned to in the course of this study.

Haydon's record of the voyage out is in structure and content absolutely typical of the journals produced by his class and gender. Yet despite this typicality the journal reveals some interesting strategies for coping with a daunting and largely unpleasant experience. Haydon's *Theresa* journal will be thrown into relief when the account of his return journey is considered in Chapter 4. Whether there was any lasting influence on the colonial character as a result of the voyage is debatable and probably not provable. Nevertheless, physical hardship and the enforced proximity to a variety of people was to be a good grounding for the colonial life on which Haydon was about to embark.

## Chapter 2: A Man of Melbourne



Figure 2.1 'Diary by GHH 1840 Melbourne - Australia Felix', 6 x 10, J2, HC.

Ability, class, character and capital were all to influence Haydon's prospects in Melbourne, but at the end of the day he was, like everyone else, at the mercy of the prevailing economic climate. Before Haydon had even disembarked from the *Theresa* he was offered a position as superintendent of a station at Maitland for a yearly salary of £100. The squatters of Port Phillip were desperately short of labour and accordingly wages were high. Haydon declined this offer and in so doing indicated he did not then consider his future lay on the land. In this reluctance to 'go bush' he was not unusual; even among those used to a rural life the bush was considered a dangerous and lonely place, and most preferred to look for work in Melbourne.<sup>1</sup>

Initially Haydon had no difficulty in obtaining employment in the town, but his attempts at establishing himself as an architect met with little success. As an artist he did marginally better, and what remains of the art he produced in Australia reveals much about the ways in which the new environment was interpreted by the colonist.

### **'Happy is the man who on a leaf can dine'**

After a lapse of four months to November 1840 Haydon again started making entries in his journal. As with the account of the voyage out he commenced his entries with a frontispiece, this time one appropriate to the colonial setting. With the small figure of a soldier astride a boomerang capping two pipe-smoking Aborigines, the sketch speaks volumes of Haydon's initial conception of Port Phillip.

Haydon was forced to sleep in a tent with two others, Fulford and Bligh, at Williamstown for a week after arrival as he waited for his money bill to fall due in order to get his hands on his modest capital of £40. This amount probably precluded Haydon from seriously contemplating the life of a squatter. George Arden, a contemporary of Haydon's in Melbourne, calculated that a minimum capital of £600 was required for anyone wishing to invest in stock independently, whilst Michael Cannon puts the figure as high as £2,000-3,000.<sup>2</sup>



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<sup>1</sup> Michael Cannon, *Old Melbourne Town: Before the Gold Rush* (Victoria, 1991), p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> George Arden, *Latest Information with Regard to Australia Felix* (Melbourne, 1840), p. 108; Cannon, p. 23.





Figure 2.2 ‘Sketch of the hut in which Bligh, Fulford and myself lived on the 23<sup>rd</sup>, 24<sup>th</sup> July 1840’, 6 x 8, HC.

Clearly finding lucrative employment was high on Haydon’s list of priorities and he noted in his journal that artisans, carpenters, bricklayers, stonemasons and tin men could expect fourteen shillings a day, common labourers eight shillings, and shepherds forty pounds per annum. Chemists and druggists also did well in Melbourne. That he also noted there was ‘little or no encouragement for the fine arts’ (*J2*, undated entry, p. 56) suggests Haydon anticipated his contribution to the colony was to be intellectual and cultural, rather than physical.

As Haydon cast about his new environment he realised the value of the lesson learnt during the voyage out: he would have to be totally self-reliant. Like many emigrants who had come furnished with letters of introduction Haydon had found his to be useless. He wrote home: ‘I cannot find Mr Thos. Potter anywhere and many of my letters of introduction I have not delivered, it would be no good.’<sup>3</sup>

Issues of social class have never sat well in the history of a country that prefers to emphasize egalitarian ideals. Yet, in the early days at least, there was a correlation between the emigrant’s class and his colonial experience. De Serville suggests that the code of the gentleman was transported with the early settlers and actually predates the code of mateship that was later to become so synonymous with Australia. Attempts were made, though not terribly successful, to recreate the hierarchy of English social

<sup>3</sup> George Henry Haydon, letter to Samuel Haydon, 26 November 1840, HC; Arden, p. 102. Arden actually advised emigrants to burn their letters of recommendation.

structure in the colonial setting.<sup>4</sup> Although the aristocracy was almost completely absent in Australia, younger sons from landed families, retired military and naval officers, and members of the professions provided the top social layer. Haydon, the son of a naval officer (and with an elder brother a solicitor), was what de Serville classes as a gentleman by 'profession, commission and upbringing'<sup>5</sup> though he certainly was not a gentleman by virtue of having independent means.

Arden presents a different way of defining the emigrant which neatly places Haydon in the category, as with his shipboard status, of 'intermediate':

For the sake of perspicuity immigrants may be divided into three classes: Capitalists, Labourers, and Intermediates; the last which will be considered first, is the most unprofitable class both to the colony and to themselves, and it is difficult indeed to set them upon the path of independence; in most cases it is advisable that they forthwith reduce themselves into labourers, for all the situations sought after by this class, clerks and overseers, the salaries are barely adequate to maintenance, and difficult of obtainment.<sup>6</sup>

Locating Haydon within a social and economic class helps in the understanding of both the nature of his migrant experience and of the strategies he employed in negotiating that experience. De Serville argues that the gentlemen of early Port Phillip have been largely overlooked when it comes to assessing the part played by various groups in the establishment of the colony. Their heyday was short-lived and definitely over by 1850, but their money, tastes and manners all helped to shape Melbourne.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, from very early on the associations and institutions used for regulating society in England were already being established highlighting Cannadine's point that familiar social structures were recreated in the colonial setting.<sup>8</sup> By the end of 1840 Melbourne had a Masonic Lodge, Melbourne Club, Port Phillip Club, Lodge of Odd Fellows, and a Mechanic's Institution and School of Arts, as well as a variety of religious and sporting clubs.<sup>9</sup> Haydon appears not to have been a member of any of these probably because of financial circumstances and his relative youth.

If Haydon looked at Melbourne with the eyes of an architect he must have been disappointed. Less than five years old the settlement was in its infancy with a

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<sup>4</sup> De Serville, *Port Phillip Gentlemen*, p. 22.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 188.

<sup>6</sup> Arden, *Latest Information with Regard to Australia Felix*, p. 103.

<sup>7</sup> De Serville, *Port Phillip Gentlemen*, p. 168.

<sup>8</sup> Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, p. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Arden, *Latest Information with Regard to Australia Felix*, p. 86.

population in 1840 of only around 4,000. Until the commencement of land sales in 1837 there had been little incentive for settlers to build houses, preferring instead to make do with tents and huts.<sup>10</sup> Although the now familiar grid pattern of streets had already been laid out, Melbourne's roads were still unmade and exceedingly rough. The census for 1841 shows a total of 769 houses of which 394 were built of brick or stone and 375 of wood. However, it is unlikely that many of these early dwellings were sufficiently sophisticated as structures to require any input from an architect. Haydon was one of 2,676 males listed in the census of whom only 131 were described as 'landed proprietors, merchants, bankers and professional persons', and 234 as 'shopkeepers and retail dealers'.<sup>11</sup> In short, Melbourne was tiny.

Only a week or so after his arrival in Melbourne Haydon obtained his first job keeping accounts for William Ker,<sup>12</sup> a bookseller and stationer on Collins Street, for £1 per week plus board. Just three months later he moved to a position with Mr Price,<sup>13</sup> an architect, for £2 10s per week and wrote confidently: 'There is every probability of my commencing for myself very soon'.<sup>14</sup> It was an ambitious statement from one who had completed less than two years of his apprenticeship. By December 1840 Haydon had left Price and taken the position of clerk in Arden and Strode's office at the *Port Phillip Gazette*, again for the weekly sum of £2 10s. He was particularly unimpressed that, after heavy rainfall, he had to wade up to his waist in water to get to his office on Collins Street, such was the state of Melbourne's roads. At the same time Haydon was supplementing his income by sketching.

After only a few weeks at the *Gazette*, Haydon moved to the *Port Phillip Patriot* then under the proprietorship of John Pascoe Fawkner, for a salary of £3 per week. The poaching of staff from one paper by another was not unusual and Haydon made no comment as to whether it was merely the money that prompted him to move or whether he preferred the politics of the *Patriot*, although he was to remain an admirer of Arden. The *Gazette* and *Patriot* were bitter rivals; the former had initially championed gentility whilst the latter was to mock attempts at an elitist, exclusive society and support the

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<sup>10</sup> Cannon, *Old Melbourne Town*, p. 25.

<sup>11</sup> Cited in *Port Phillip Government Gazette* (Melbourne, 1841-1851), Tuesday 9 November 1841.

<sup>12</sup> William Ker junior, bookseller and stationer of Collins Street should not be confused with William Kerr also a bookseller and stationer of Collins Street who became editor of the *Port Phillip Patriot* in 1841 and was author of *Kerr's Melbourne Almanac*.

<sup>13</sup> Joan Kerr (ed.), *Dictionary of Australian Artists, Painters, Sketchers, Photographers and Engravers to 1870* (Melbourne, 1992), pp. 353-4. Kerr states that Haydon worked for the architect Thomas Price although Haydon does not specify a first name or place of work in his journal.

<sup>14</sup> *TJ*, undated entry, p. 56.

cause of society based on merit.<sup>15</sup> The easy way in which Haydon flitted from job to job in the early days is indicative of the general labour shortage within the Port Phillip District, and the fact that there was then little unemployment among young, healthy, single males.

By November 1840 Haydon had spent sufficient time in Melbourne to assess his prospects and to conclude he needed capital of £200 which he proceeded to write home for. Haydon had a plan: he would buy a plot of land with a frontage of sixty feet and depth of thirty, costing around £70. On this he would erect six cottages costing £35 each and then let them at 15 shillings per week. Assuring his father that money was made every day in speculation such as this, Haydon calculated he would be able to return the money in two years with ten per cent interest, but as letters between Australia and England took the best part of a year to be exchanged he had a considerable wait to know if his father was prepared to back him. In the meantime Haydon was paying £2 per week, or two thirds of his wages, just for lodgings having tried some at 25s where he 'nearly got eaten alive'.<sup>16</sup> Although wages were relatively high and food cheap, living in town was proving expensive.

Haydon outlined other moneymaking ventures in his letter home suggesting he could act as a colonial agent for the sale of any kind of goods and urging his father to use any contacts he may have. In the meantime, Haydon was pleased to report having 'several pupils' for drawing lessons, and that he anticipated the surplus of the drawing materials that he had sent for would be sold at 200 per cent profit as pencils retailing in England for 5d cost 2s each in Melbourne.<sup>17</sup> Just who the 'several pupils' were is hard to imagine as the wives and children of those settlers who could afford such refinements would have provided a very small pool of potential customers.

Perhaps wishing to assure his father of his industrious intentions, Haydon concluded his letter by saying he was going to walk to Geelong to see if there were any openings to be had for an architect. Next to Melbourne Geelong was the most developed settlement in Port Phillip, though as a port it was to be disadvantaged by the presence of a sand bar. If he ever made the journey it would seem no opening was found, and Haydon remained in Melbourne. In December 1840 he received a commission from the

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<sup>15</sup> De Serville, *Port Phillip Gentlemen*, p. 22.

<sup>16</sup> George Henry Haydon, letter to Samuel Haydon, 26 November 1840, HC.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

surveyor Henry Foot for landscape drawings of ground at Merri Creek, an area just to the north of Melbourne.<sup>18</sup>

Whilst waiting for a reply to his request for capital Haydon used what little money he had and bought some land at Merri Creek for £10 10s. He probably turned this over fairly quickly because in February 1841 he purchased two acres of land, also at Merri Creek, on three and five month bills for £24. He hoped to sell this on for a substantial profit. There is no record of what happened to the land at Merri Creek.<sup>19</sup>

Despite the brevity of most of Haydon's journal entries they do give a sense of his having taken colonial life in his stride and dramatic occurrences are calmly recorded. In December 1840 he noted the robbery of the Sydney Mail by bushrangers; on 2 January 1841 the wrecking of the *Isabella* on King Island, and a few days later the grounding of the *Clonmel* on the Gippsland shore with rumour of 'warlike and treacherous natives' on that part of the coast. In June 1841 he accompanied Assistant Protector of Aborigines, William Thomas, to see a corroboree which disintegrated into a battle between the 'Jagga Jagga' and 'Yarra Yarra' tribes.

Colonial society and politics seem not to have interested Haydon, or at least these did not feature in his journal. Working for the newspapers, he would have been all too aware of the arguments and scandals that raged in Melbourne, and the scurrilous and often libellous journalism by which they were reported. There is no record of when Haydon left the *Port Phillip Patriot* but it is likely to have been sooner rather than later. In January 1841 Haydon was still acting as a drawing teacher and advertised in the local paper that he was moving to Lonsdale Street.<sup>20</sup> He also advertised for pupils in *Kerr's Melbourne Almanac*.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> R.V. Billis and A. S. Kenyon, *Pastures New: An Account of the Pastoral Occupation of Port Phillip*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Melbourne, 1974), p. 68. Henry Bourne Foot – Surveyor, Port Phillip district 1840-45.

<sup>19</sup> No reference to this purchase could be found in the land records at the Public Record Office of Victoria.

<sup>20</sup> Garryowen, 'Chronicles of Early Melbourne,' *Daily Telegraph* (Melbourne) 12 February 1881.

<sup>21</sup> William Kerr, *Kerr's Melbourne Almanac and Port Phillip Directory for 1841* (Melbourne, 1841), p. 244.

## Haydon as architect

Architecture as a profession in Port Phillip was in its infancy. The few architects who did emigrate prior to 1850 tended to be those poorly qualified or at the bottom of their profession in England. In theory, architects should have done very well with churches to be built as well as barracks, gaols, courts, buildings for commerce, and grand houses for the wealthy settlers, but in practice colonial architects faced a problem. The major construction projects were commissioned by the government but, unlike in England where private architects would be invited to tender, in Port Phillip the Government Architect's Department undertook all new building. It was a monopoly that caused ill feeling among private architects who had to wait for the discovery of gold before their profession could really thrive. J. M. Freeland calculates that in 1850 Melbourne had only about twelve architects, but by 1890 the figure was as high as three hundred. In the early days few had made a living solely from architecture and often it was the tradesmen such as carpenters, bricklayers, and builders who moved up into the profession. From 1837 Port Phillip had a Clerk of Works but he was accountable to the Colonial Architect's office in Sydney, then run by Mortimer Lewis. Authorizing and organizing work from Sydney was a slow process and by 1845 Melbourne still had no government offices, military barracks, or bridge over the Yarra.<sup>22</sup>

Nevertheless, Haydon did build in Melbourne. The merchant Jonathan Binns Were (who had cashed Haydon's money bill) commissioned Haydon to draw up plans for a block of two stores in Market Square in 1841.<sup>23</sup> Were had arrived from Plymouth only a year earlier and he showed great kindness to Haydon.<sup>24</sup> The specifications for the stores (but not the plans) have survived and are clearly signed by Haydon, Were, Rankin (the bricklayer), and Sutherland (the carpenter). Rankin and Sutherland submitted estimates totalling £1,995 7s 7d, but Haydon's fee is not shown.<sup>25</sup> Port Phillip directories indicate Were Brothers and Co. traded from this address until at least 1847. Were's business survives to this day as Goldman Sachs J. B. Were, and although this present-day incarnation of one of Melbourne's earliest businesses was unable to provide any information relating to these first premises, their current address on Collins Street

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<sup>22</sup> J. M. Freeland, *Architecture in Australia: A History* (Ringwood, Vic., 1974), pp. 5 & 12-16.

<sup>23</sup> Market Square no longer exists but was the block enclosed by present-day William Street, Collins Street, Market Street and Flinders Lane.

<sup>24</sup> When Haydon came to write *The Australian Emigrant* he had his hero lodge with a merchant named Binns Were and it is likely that this was based on Haydon's own experience with J. B. Were.

<sup>25</sup> G. H. Haydon, 'Specification of work required to be done in the erection of two stores for J B Were Esq.,' 1841, HC. Haydon later confirmed to G. A. Robinson that these had been built.

cannot be far from that first brick building that Haydon designed. Haydon counted Were among his friends in Melbourne, and as a prominent and influential citizen he was probably a good patron to have.<sup>26</sup>

Haydon's first Port Phillip journal finishes in July 1841 and thereafter his trail becomes harder to follow. A doctor's bill for £14 2s for attendance between August and November 1841 suggests he was very ill during the latter part of that year.<sup>27</sup> (The absence of sewers in Melbourne resulted in a number of outbreaks of typhoid fever and dysentery during hot weather.) Other clues indicate that Haydon was trying to get involved with the development of an area of coastal land on the back of his association with Were.

Henry Dendy arrived in Port Phillip in February 1841 complete with land orders authorising a special survey. This was under a short-lived system which allowed for the purchase and survey of a block of land eight square miles (5,120 acres) in size for the sum of £1 per acre. The purchaser had the right, subject to some restrictions, to choose his plot from any as yet unsurveyed land. After some deliberation, Dendy settled on a coastal area five miles from Melbourne; this plot of land would become Brighton. Dendy appointed J. B. Were as his agent and Surveyor Foot won the commission to lay out the township plan. In November 1841 Haydon advertised for tenders for two cottages at Brighton which, in view of his association with both Were and Foot, suggests his involvement with the development project.<sup>28</sup>

When Dendy exercised his right to have his special survey carried out the land he wanted was already home to two squatting families: the Martins had settled at Moorabbin and the McArthurs at Ballygyl. Both had cattle stations and both were forced to pay substantial amounts to secure the land their homesteads stood on.<sup>29</sup> (Squatters were reluctant to invest in the construction of homesteads as they had no security of tenure.) Haydon had become friends with the Martin family and a rough sketch of a modest dwelling survives bearing the somewhat ironic title *Martin's Hall*.

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<sup>26</sup> Weston Bate, 'Were, Jonathan Binns (1809-1885)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 2 (Melbourne, 1967), pp. 589-90. Were emigrated in 1839, purchased a prefabricated house and merchandise worth £1,500 and started the family business of importers and exporters, and agents for shipping, land, cattle, and wool.

<sup>27</sup> Dr Sprout, invoice 1 January 1842, HC.

<sup>28</sup> *Port Phillip Herald*, 1 November 1841. Haydon is shown as having been working out of the merchants Porter and White in Flinders Lane.

<sup>29</sup> Weston Bate, *A History of Brighton* (Melbourne, 1962), p. 32.



*Sketch of Martin's Hall - Brighton. 1842*

Figure 2.3 'Martin's Hall', pencil sketch, 15 x 8, HC.

Here Haydon is both nodding to, and poking fun at, a trend in colonial art. Just as they had been popular in Britain, pictures of country houses and mansions had become fashionable in the colonies as records of the rewards of a large commercial empire.<sup>30</sup> Conrad Martens and Joseph Lycett painted many of the grandest houses in New South Wales. That a fuller version of Haydon's meagre sketch was commissioned by a present-day descendant of the Martin family for an exhibition in 1991 to commemorate Brighton's 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary is indicative of the historic value of such early sketches.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Bernard Smith, *Place, Taste and Tradition*, pp. 53-4.  
<sup>31</sup> This picture was commissioned by Lilian Martin great-great-granddaughter of Edward Martin of Brighton, Victoria.





Figure 2.4 Paul Ching Bor, 'Martin's Hall', by permission of Lilian Martin.

Once surveyed, Dendy's estate was divided into a country section and town allotments and advertised for sale in May 1841. Dendy and Were set about building their own respective properties, 'Brighton Park' and 'Moorabbin House'. Dendy used his friend, architect and builder W. B. Andrews to construct his. Were's house was described as 'beautifully appointed, with spacious rooms and extensive panelling', but there is no suggestion that he used Haydon for its design.<sup>32</sup> Initially, sales of plots went well particularly along the seafront, but the bubble of land speculation had burst and as the economic depression took hold in 1842 land sales throughout Melbourne suffered. In February 1843 Foot went bankrupt; he was followed into the Insolvency Court by Were in December of that year, and Dendy a year later.<sup>33</sup> In such a climate architecture was clearly not going to be a profitable occupation.

It was unfortunate for Haydon that just as he was trying to establish himself in Melbourne, the whole of New South Wales was plunged into an economic slump.<sup>34</sup> The very boom that had helped to lure Haydon out to Australia had turned to bust. The economics of the depression are complex but put simply the colony was supported by two commodities, land and wool, which were both funded by the abundance of capital flowing in from Britain. The government used the revenue from the sale of land to fund

<sup>32</sup> Bate, *A History of Brighton*, p. 43.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62.

<sup>34</sup> For the causes and effects of the depression see Cannon, *Old Melbourne Town*, pp. 53-75; Shaw, *History of Port Phillip District*, pp. 163-9.

immigration (and the much needed labour force), and public works. Rather than let the market find its own level, the government had fixed the minimum price for land at 12s 6d per acre in 1838 and increased to £1 per acre two years later. This failed to maximize revenues for the government, encouraged squatting in rural areas and speculation (which Haydon took part in at Merri Creek) in and around towns. The latter artificially inflated the price of land until it bore no relation to its intrinsic value. The surplus land revenues were deposited by the government in Melbourne's banks thus enabling them to lend more capital. A bad drought from 1837-39 was followed by a drop in wool prices and, accordingly, the value of sheep. To make matters worse, Britain was suffering from its own depression during the early forties with the result that it imported less wool and exported less capital. Wages fell, panic set in and land prices collapsed. Unable to sell more land the government was forced to draw on its reserves from the banks, which in turn had to call in loans and foreclose on debts. The result was widespread insolvency; Shaw calculates that of the 481 pastoral licence holders registered in 1840 fewer than half remained in 1845, and with the pastoral industry supporting the rest of the economy there was an inevitable knock-on effect to all other sectors.<sup>35</sup>

## **Haydon as artist**

### ***Recording the new environment***

As well as teaching drawing, Haydon had been producing both commercial art and his own informal sketches. His attempts at capturing on paper that which he saw around him are considered here in the context of the contemporary trends in colonial art.

The illustrated travel book flourished in the first half of the nineteenth century enhanced by aquatint engraving which enabled pictures to be coloured. This process together with the more common lithograph, which could be produced for a mass market, meant that any illustration was likely to be the work of more than one hand. An original sketch made on the spot, which may have been very rough indeed, would then be embellished or even reinterpreted by the engraver with the possibility of a third hand undertaking the colouring. These secondary interpretations were commonly undertaken by artists who had never visited Australia.

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<sup>35</sup> Shaw, *History of the Port Phillip District*, p. 97.

Christopher Allen rightly suggests that the way in which an individual comprehended Australia, and hence recorded it, was to a degree determined by that individual's historical persona. Their arrival in Australia as an explorer, as a transient colonist, or as a permanent settler would influence and alter the individual's perceptions of, and responses to, the surroundings.<sup>36</sup> This point at its most basic is exemplified by the fact that flora and fauna seen as interesting and novel to the explorer reporting his findings back to Britain often seemed alien and hostile to a settler struggling to adapt to a place he must try to consider home.

In a pre-photographic era the ability to draw was advantageous as well as being a genteel accomplishment, and if one could sketch one did. Sharing the travel experience with those back home was a duty and one which, as discussed in Chapter 1, commenced on the ship out. In the shipboard journal and in other sketches by Haydon it is possible to see examples of the earliest type of representation of Australia in the form of the coastal profile. These pictures, which seem so dull to the modern-day observer, were part of the tradition of scientific draughtsmanship and topographical recording which had been undertaken since the earliest naval surveys. Indeed, Haydon may have been influenced by his own father's knowledge of naval drawings. Smith notes this relationship between art and exploration as being a particularly Antipodean phenomenon; in older countries artistic inspiration had initially come out of religion and history – in Australia art was to stem from science.<sup>37</sup> In addition, scientific investigation, mapping, charting, and fixing were all essential elements of the project of empire and the precursors to appropriating, settling, and exploiting a new land.

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<sup>36</sup> Christopher Allen, *Art in Australia: From Colonization to Postmodernism* (London, 1997), p. 19.

<sup>37</sup> Smith, *Place, Taste and Tradition*, p. 33.



Figure 2.5 'Antipodes Island', 16 x 14, HC.

Whilst it will be suggested that many external factors shaped Haydon's art, something must also be said about his own response to the place to which he had migrated. It has long been acknowledged that early European artists had trouble 'seeing' Australia. Intimidated by the glare of the light, the nature of the landscape, and the oddness of the flora and fauna, they tended to fall back on what they knew. Landscape sketching was also still heavily influenced by neo-classical ideals which prized tasteful collections of topographical features above scientific accuracy, demonstrating the gentility and erudition of the artist over and above the ability to capture 'real' scenes.<sup>38</sup> Haydon recorded his first impressions of Port Phillip thus: 'It has much the appearance of a park at home only the trees are much finer and rather thicker. The land which has been cultivated yields enormous produce.' (J2, p. 58) This was a typical response based on the need to see what was old and familiar among the new and strange. It was also an aesthetic response and one which was so common to the explorers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that Haydon's reaction may have been pre-programmed; that is to say he responded as he thought he should respond and in a language his readers would understand. Furthermore, it was a convenient response: viewing the land in the same way as that back in Britain brought it into a British system of categorisation and evaluation underpinning the imposition of the land-owning system on a new place

<sup>38</sup> Bernard Smith with Terry Smith, *Australian Painting 1788-1990*, pp. 11-20.

and in a new context.<sup>39</sup> Yet notwithstanding the conventionality of his response, Haydon did feel positively toward this environment and invoked the sublime as he wrote:

‘And they were canopied by the blue sky  
So cloudless, clear and purely beautiful  
That God above was to be seen in heaven.’ (Byron’s Dream)

These lines might well be applied to a summer evening’s sky in  
Australia Felix. (J6, 3 January 1844)

Most of Haydon’s surviving unpublished Australian material comprises little more than rough sketches, some done when there was clearly only a few minutes to hand. But Haydon cherished his Australian memorabilia and was careful to preserve it throughout his lifetime. To attempt any serious assessment of the intrinsic artistic worth of these sketches would be to miss the point that at the time, and under the circumstances in which it was produced, such art, however inept, was the only way through which an audience in Britain could visualize far away places. This was a kind of art that was less about stimulating the higher sensibilities and more about informing and entertaining, and herein lies its value. However, this idea of art’s function of informing needs a caveat. The colonial artist still acted as a filter through which these early images were mediated, and the combination of the motivation of the artist and the expectation of the audience did not, as will be seen, necessarily result in absolute visual accuracy.

Haydon had made an auspicious start to his career as an artist when shortly after his arrival in the colony he was commended by the *Port Phillip Gazette* for catching the likeness of a ‘Sea Monster’: ‘What with portrait and embalming, all doubt must cease as to the monster’s fate being finally “sealed”’ (which suggests the ‘monster’ was in fact only a seal).<sup>40</sup> Haydon proudly wrote home that the *Sydney Monitor* had also reported on his picture.<sup>41</sup> A couple of months later he recorded making a sketch of Melbourne which was ‘much liked’. (J2, 26 December 1840) This became *Melbourne in 1840*.

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<sup>39</sup> Simon Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye*, pp. 10 & 74.

<sup>40</sup> ‘Fine Art, *Port Phillip Gazette*, 21 October 1840.

<sup>41</sup> George Henry Haydon, letter to Samuel Haydon, 26 November 1840, HC. The picture of the sea monster was not reproduced with the article and it has not proved possible to find reference to it in the *Sydney Monitor*.



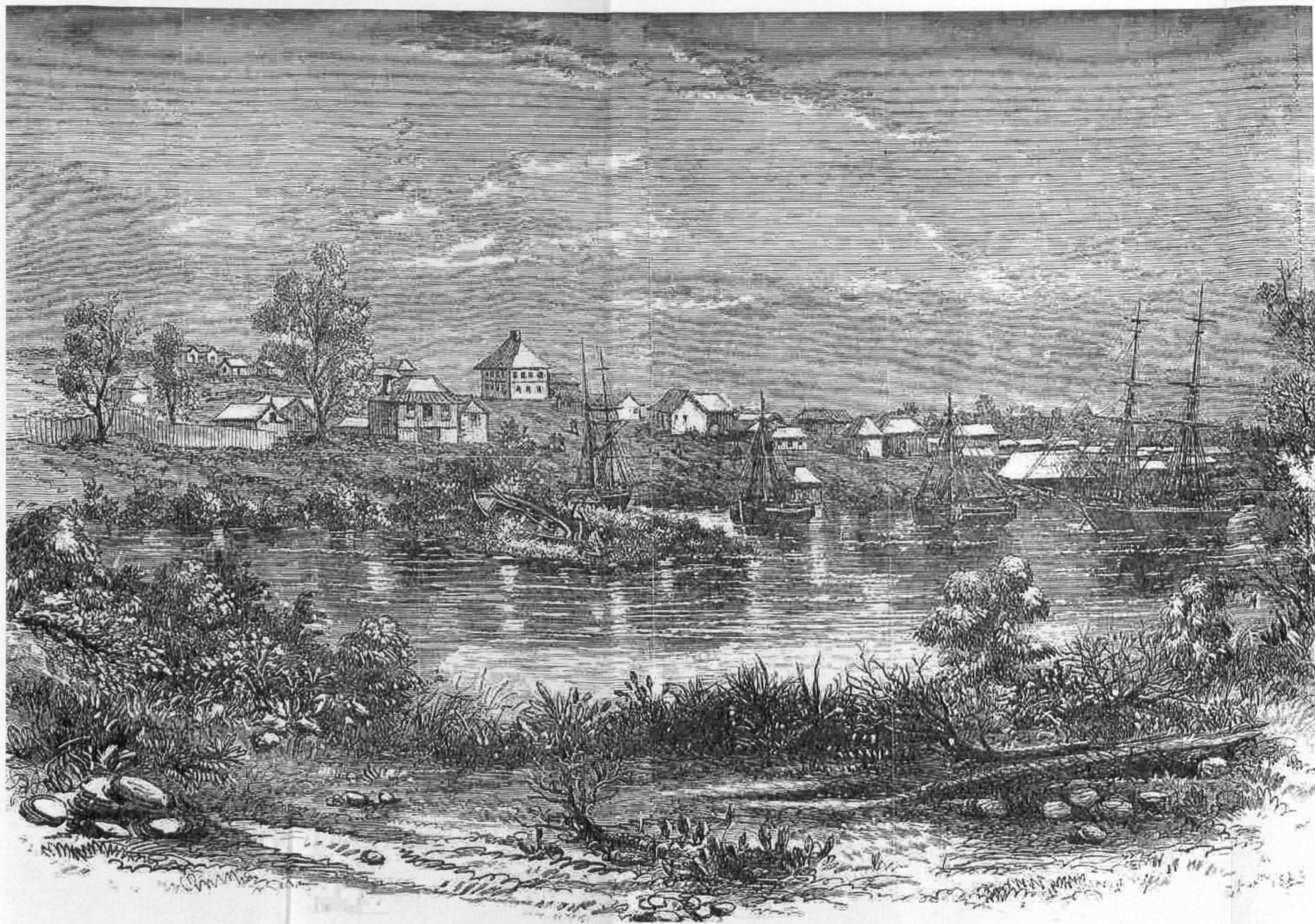


Figure 2.6 *Melbourne in 1840*, lithograph, 33x23, *The Australasian Sketcher*, 10 July 1875.





Figure 2.7 Melbourne in 1840, hand-coloured lithograph, *The Australasian Sketcher*, 10 July 1875, HC.



*Melbourne in 1840* is Haydon's most enduring visual legacy in the records of early Victoria.<sup>42</sup> This townscape is often reproduced in books on early Port Phillip and, as an image, it has taken on a number of different forms. Undertaken from the South Bank of the Yarra River the view is across from the turning basin just below the falls to Batman's Hill which was later levelled to become the site of Spencer Street railway yards. The brig is the *Henry* from Hobart, there is a schooner from Launceston and the two cutters are from Geelong. Flinders Street runs parallel to the river and Market Square is above and left of the vessels. The prominent building on the hill is the Shakespeare Hotel (later John Pascoe Fawkner's hotel) which is standing on the corner of Collins Street and Market Square.<sup>43</sup> The neat fencing is symbolic of the order being imposed on the landscape, whilst the figures going about their business give life to the scene. This picture is typical of the well-established genre of townscapes which include views of Sydney by the earlier artists Thomas Watling and Joseph Lycett, and bears a certain similarity to J. Adamson's *Melbourne from the South Side of the Yarra Yarra* which was published in 1839.

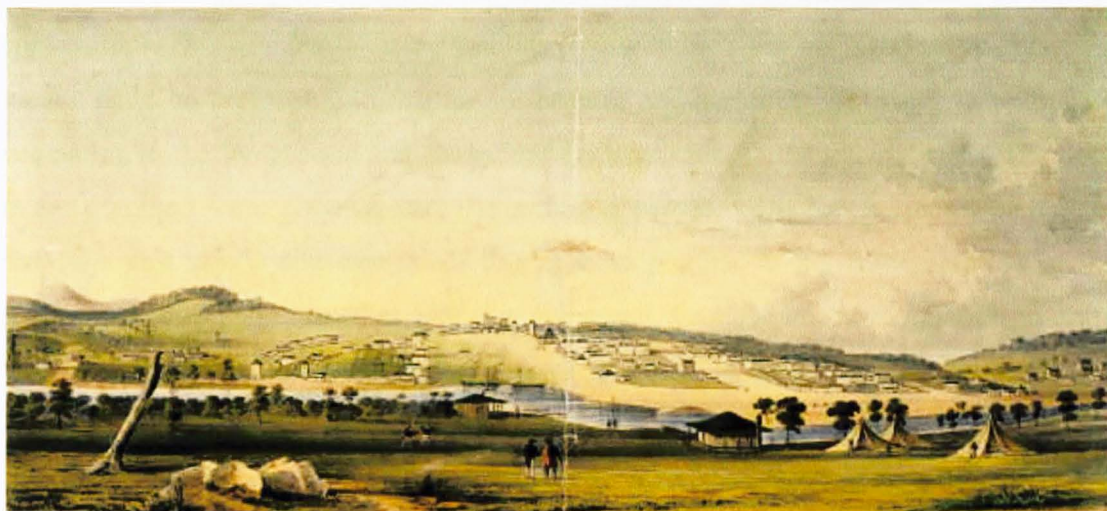


Figure 2.8 J. Adamson, *Melbourne from the South Side of the Yarra Yarra*, lithograph, nla.pic.an8844544, NLA.

Such illustrations were concerned with showing roads, houses, and busy harbours as 'reassuring signs of a growing township and of a familiar world re-created at the end of

<sup>42</sup> This continues to be used as an image of early Melbourne, see for example Eric Richards, *Britannia's Children*, between pp. 142 & 143.

<sup>43</sup> 'Melbourne Thirty-Five Years Ago and Melbourne Today', *The Australasian Sketcher*, 10 July 1875, p. 55.



the earth'.<sup>44</sup> The presence of the ships acts not just as a reminder of the link to the mother country but also as an emblem of trade and commerce, the economic goal of the colony and of the Empire. Dixon sees such images in both art and literature as representing the last stages of nationhood that came with the rise (and pre-empted the fall) of all empires as their societies developed from a hunter-gatherer stage to pastoral, then agricultural and finally commercial.<sup>45</sup> Although the settlement in Haydon's picture may seem sparse to the modern eye, Melbourne was then barely five years old and the extent of its development in such a short time was the source of considerable pride to its inhabitants. In the hands of promoters of emigration such images depicted an ordered and recognisable landscape and an economic and social infrastructure in which viewers could easily imagine themselves.<sup>46</sup>

*Melbourne in 1840* is a woodcut illustration and it is possible to detect the outline of the individual square wood blocks used in this process which, by Haydon's time, was mostly confined to the production of pamphlets and newspapers.<sup>47</sup> The picture now derives its value as a record of nascent Melbourne but despite Haydon's attempts at producing an objective record the result was still circumscribed by artistic conventions. He was clearly aware that, according to the rules of European aesthetics, a view should be composed. In this case the water and buildings are fringed by the dark vegetation in the foreground and framed by the trees on both the left and right. The dead tree, a common feature, symbolizes the taming of nature.<sup>48</sup> The low horizon which gives rise to a vast sky is also typical of this type of picture. In his contemplation of the picturesque in colonial art, Ian McLean notes that the habitual representation in early images of a more tamed nature framed by wilder nature in the foreground created a new space, a space for colonialism or, as he says: 'the space which the colonialist desired'. He explains this: 'The favourite picturesque subjects were the frontiers of civilization where history was in the making; not the clean lines of the city, a post-historical space where history long reigned, or the wilderness where history is not yet.'<sup>49</sup> It is precisely this intermediate space that Haydon captures in *Melbourne in 1840* and in his other Melbourne scene discussed below. Despite the picture's confident assertion of the

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<sup>44</sup> Allen, *Art in Australia*, p. 22.

<sup>45</sup> Dixon, *The Course of Empire*, p. 2.

<sup>46</sup> R. Grant, *Representations of British Emigration*, p. 34.

<sup>47</sup> Cederic Flower, *The Antipodes Observed* (Melbourne, 1975), p. 132; The on-the-spot sketch from which the engraver produced the finished article still survives (see Appendix III).

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>49</sup> Ian McLean, *White Aborigines: Identity Politics in Australian Art* (Melbourne, 1998), pp. 35-6.

emergence of civilization, the vegetation of the foreground hints menacingly at what lies behind the artist and the artist's reluctance to turn around to face it. In addition to promoting the colonial project, the production of art that was concerned with familiar subjects and was produced by familiar techniques was, in part, a way of assuaging the homesickness that was an inevitable part of the migrant experience.<sup>50</sup>

Whether Haydon's sketch of 1840 was published at the time is not known but in 1875 it was made available to *The Australasian Sketcher* by Samuel Mossman, another early Port Phillip settler, artist and writer who had returned to England.<sup>51</sup> *The Australasian Sketcher* reproduced the picture alongside one from 1875 made from a similar spot.

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<sup>50</sup> Smith, *Place, Taste and Tradition*, p. 28.

<sup>51</sup> It is not known how Mossman obtained the sketch, or whether he knew Haydon.



Figure 2.9 'Melbourne in 1875', lithograph, 32x23, *The Australasian Sketcher*, 10 July 1875.



The comparison of the two images showed not just the progress of Melbourne over thirty-five years but the realization of that which is anticipated in Haydon's 1840 image. In the later picture a major wharf stands alongside the basin and Flinders Street has become dominated by substantial warehouses and scenes of commerce. Melbourne stretches into the distance a solid block of buildings, church spires and flagstaff, all signs of imperialism. The rapidity of the progress is both a reminder of the shortness of Australia's history and a proud affirmation of the success of Empire.

In the Cowan Gallery in the State Library of Victoria hangs an oil-painting by Eleanor McGlinn which is a re-working of Haydon's *Melbourne in 1840*.<sup>52</sup>



Figure 2.10 Eleanor McGlinn, *Melbourne from the South Side of the Yarra*, 1840 (ca. 1879), oil on canvas, 67 x 80, Cowan Gallery, SLV.

In 1890, Haydon's version was also turned into a coloured glass lantern slide by Edward George Wood in London.<sup>53</sup> Possibly the dates of the painting and lantern slide suggest a

<sup>52</sup> Cowan Gallery, SLV, Melbourne, text accompanying *Melbourne from the South Side of the Yarra*. Little is known about Eleanor McGlinn (1850-1937) other than she studied at the National Gallery School from 1877-79.

<sup>53</sup> 'Melbourne in 1840 Settlement on Yarra, 1890', glass lantern slide with hand colouring, SLV.

renewed interest in early images of Australia as the nationalist movement in that country gained momentum. Hand-coloured copies of the sketch from *The Australasian Sketcher*, though rare, can still be found on sale amongst Australian antique prints.<sup>54</sup>

A second lithograph of a Haydon sketch of Melbourne from the Yarra undertaken in 1842 also exists.

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<sup>54</sup> In 2003 copies were on sale in Sydney for A\$150.



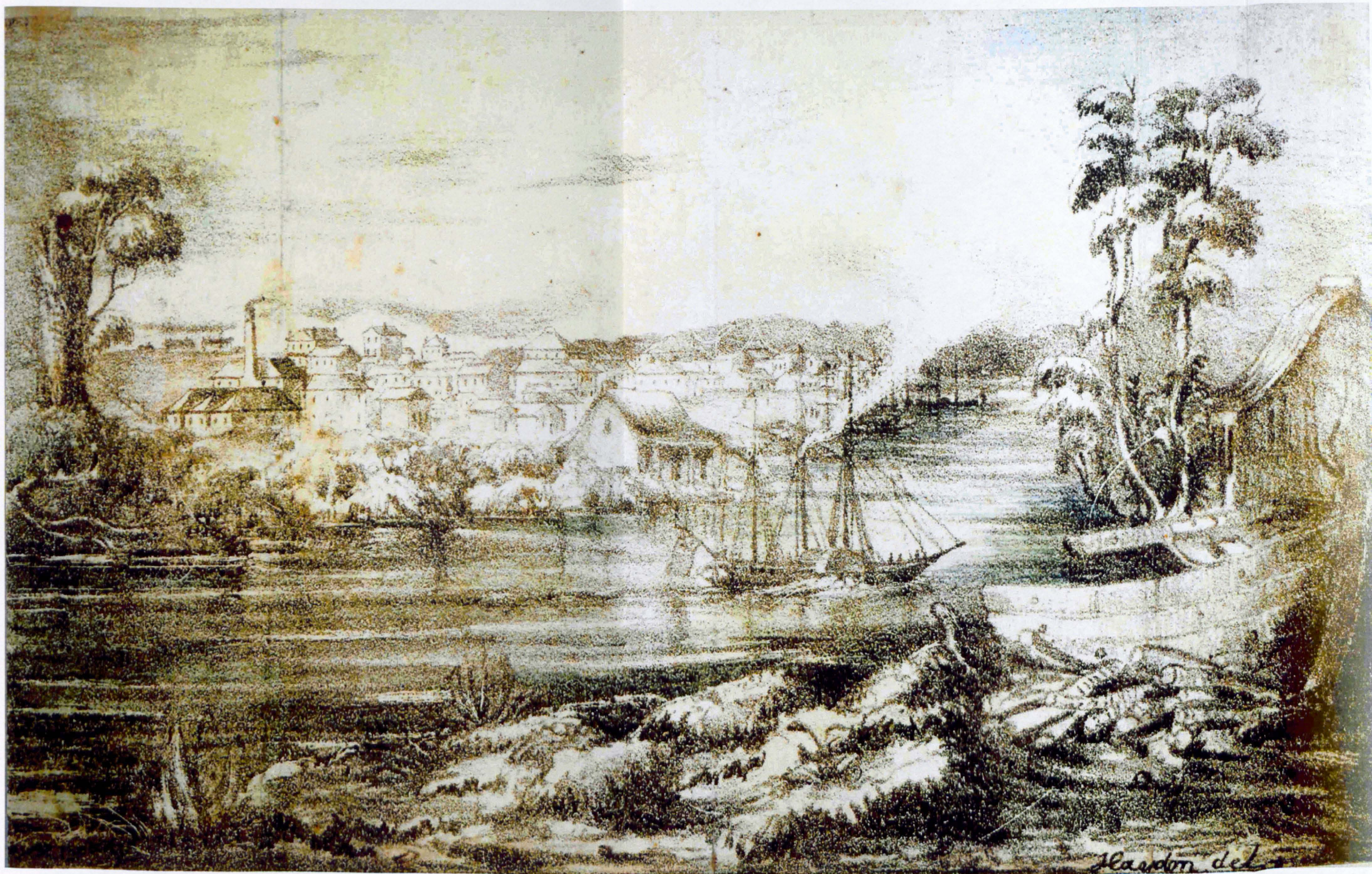


Figure 2.10 'Melbourne from the Yarra', hand-coloured lithograph, 18x26, Rex Nan Kivell Collection, nla.pic-an6016281-v, NLA.<sup>136</sup>

<sup>136</sup> This lithograph is marked 'Haydon del' indicating Haydon drew the original sketch for it. The picture was exhibited in the 'Prints and Australia' exhibition at the Australian National Gallery, 1989.



It has attracted less attention despite having been executed with greater competence, which indicates that in his first years in Australia Haydon had been practising and improving his art. Again the picture is composed with the view framed by trees and the semi-tamed vegetation of the foreground. The buildings are denser, are now on both sides of the river, and the presence of a smoking chimney and a steamer on the river are indications of the industrial progress of the colony. The water disappears into the distance giving both a sense of perspective, and also leading the eye in the direction of the interior and the anticipated location of further colonial progress. The image was created before explorative expeditions finally confirmed the aridness of Australia's centre.

Both of Haydon's Melbourne pictures were typical of a whole genre of topographical views or townscapes where the artist is looking to the centre of the town with the bush remaining at the fringes outside both the artist's line of vision and comprehension. Books of such views were greatly in demand as, especially back in Britain, everyone wanted to see the progress of the colony. As more and more immigrants arrived, more and more images were required to send home to family and friends.<sup>56</sup> Proud colonists in Australia as well as curious intellectuals and prospective emigrants back home all stimulated the production of this kind of art. But underlying such images was an anxiety created from inhabiting a strange place so far from home; hence the need to focus on the culturally familiar. It was not until the business of exploration of the interior was seriously underway that artists turned their attention in any great degree to representing the other, untouched, Australian landscape.<sup>57</sup>

In the absence of the traditional patron it was quite common for colonial artists to fund the production of their work by raising subscriptions, and in October 1842 the following appeared in the *Port Phillip Patriot*:

G H Haydon, Architect, intends transmitting to England six original drawings of scenery in Port Phillip to be lithographed by a first rate artist, and begs to inform parties who may be desirous of becoming subscribers, that lists lie at the *Patriot* office, and at Mr W. Ker's. jun., Collins Street.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Flower, *The Antipodes Observed* p. 40.

<sup>57</sup> Bernard Smith with Terry Smith, *Australian Painting 1788-1990*, p. 20. Smith dates this to the crossing of the Blue Mountains in 1813.

<sup>58</sup> *Port Phillip Patriot*, 31 October 1842.

The advertisement suggests that the drawings were going to be turned into lithographs in England. Haydon's two views of Melbourne described above may have been intended for the collection Haydon was seeking to raise funds for, but it is unlikely that the six drawings he planned were ever produced as they would almost certainly have been preserved somewhere amongst his papers.

It is just possible that Haydon planned to collaborate with the lithographer Henry Gilbert Jones. Described as a sketcher, engraver, pharmacist and farmer, Jones had been appointed medical dispenser to the Aborigines at Narre Narre Warren station, just east of the Dandenongs, in 1842 by the Chief Protector of Aborigines.<sup>59</sup> It has already been established that Haydon was friendly with William Thomas the Assistant Protector in charge at Narre Narre Warren. Haydon produced a likeness of Thomas which is dated 1842.



Figure 2.12 William Thomas, Assistant Protector, 1842, R. B. Smyth Collection, SLV.

<sup>59</sup> J. Kerr (ed.), *Dictionary of Australian Artists*, pp. 411-12. Jones went on to produce a series of etchings of Melbourne scenes in 1846.



The only other surviving lithograph made from Haydon's Australian sketches is *Williamstown 1841*.<sup>60</sup>



Figure 2.13 *Williamstown 1841*, lithograph, 14 x 24, Rex Nan Kivell Collection, nla.pic-an8861142-v, NLA.

This sketch looks to have been made from somewhere like St Kilda possibly during one of Haydon's trips to Brighton. The dominance of the expanse of sky evokes a sense of distance that divides artist from home and Australia from England whilst the ships represent the only link between the two places. This aspect of the picture seems to have been intentionally enhanced when compared to the original pen and wash sketch that Haydon retained (see figure 2.14 below).

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<sup>60</sup> This image was used in the online exhibition 'Why Melbourne? From Dreamtime to the Capital of Victoria,' 2006, Delsha Rees, [www.historyvictoria.org.au](http://www.historyvictoria.org.au).



Figure 2.14 ‘Williamstown’, pen and wash, 23 x 11, HC.

Ironically, the depression of the 1840s actually encouraged print-making in Australia as few could afford the luxury of an original work of art in such times.<sup>61</sup> Haydon himself noted in 1841: ‘The lithographic press does pretty well.’ (J2, 1 July 1841) Unfortunately it is not possible to ascertain with any certainty how well Haydon himself did from it, though clearly he was involved with it.

### ***Portraiture***

In his journals Haydon made a number of references to having been paid for taking the likeness of various people, but such portraits, like his architectural drawings, are the least likely images to have remained in his possession. In a pre-photography era such likenesses were an important medium for communicating with family and friends at home. The few which Haydon did retain include portraits of his friend the Western Port squatter Frederick Ruffy, and Captain de Villiers, Superintendent of Native Police until 1839. Old Cobb is probably John Thomas Cobb, a Western Port settler.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Flower, *The Antipodes Observed*, p. 42.

<sup>62</sup> Clark (ed.), *The Journals of George Augustus Robinson*, vol. 4, p. 63. G. A. Robinson refers to Cobb on 25 May 1844 when in Gippsland with Haydon, and Haydon makes further mention of him in his journal entry for 2 September 1844, J4.



Figure 2.15 Frederick Ruffy, 7 x 9, HC.<sup>63</sup>



Figure 2.16 Christian de Villiers, 8 x 11, HC.

<sup>63</sup> Haydon misspells Ruffy with an e.



Figure 2.17 Old Cobb, 8 x 12, HC.

These images are the antithesis of the formal portraiture they mimic. The men display the casual attire of the bushman, and the knife, axe and gun replace the traditional sword or staff. All the men are fully bearded and de Villiers puffs on his bushman's pipe. By the 1840s the Australian bushman was already emerging as a particular type and there is much about these early portraits by Haydon that would crystallize into national characteristics half a century or so later. Indeed these sketches (particularly of Old Cobb and figure 3.1 below), with features exaggerated for comic affect, are already caricatures.

In addition to the topographical sketches and portraiture Haydon was also trying to exploit another subject of great curiosity to the audience back in Britain: the native Australian. He wrote: 'Struck off some drawings from a lithographic press today. A Black's head which came out very black indeed. Better bye and bye.' (J2, 16 June

1841<sup>64</sup>) and: ‘Made drawings of Benbo native and placed them in Kerr’s window today’. (J2, 19 May 1841)<sup>65</sup>



Figure 2.18 ‘Benbo’, State Library of New South Wales.<sup>66</sup>



Figure 2.19 Unknown Aborigine’s head, 5 x 4, HC.

<sup>64</sup> William Thomas papers, ML MSS 214/2, item 5. Thomas’s journal records an artist arriving on 16 July 1841 to make drawings of the Aborigines. A number of sketches from Thomas’s papers held in the Robert Brough Smyth papers, SLV, MS 8781 look to be in Haydon’s hand.

<sup>65</sup> L. J. Blake, *Captain Dana and the Native Police* (Newton, Vic., 1982), p. 18. Benbo was a chief clansman of the Weribee tribe and accompanied Haydon on several hunting trips. He briefly served in the Native Police and died in 1852.

<sup>66</sup> This sketch is unsigned and undated but has been attributed to Haydon.

Ethnographic portraiture had flourished in New South Wales in the mid-1830s resulting in works by Benjamin Duterrau and Thomas Bock.<sup>67</sup> Artistic representations of the Aborigine were sometimes still influenced by Rousseau and eighteenth-century notions of the Noble Savage, a romantic view of the nobility and innocence of living in harmony with nature. By Haydon's time such images were giving way to those of the dissipated native scraping an existence on the fringes of towns, often idle and the worse for drink. Haydon's depictions of the Aborigines show signs of both these conventions and suggest a degree of ambivalence toward the natives.

What is particularly noticeable from figure 2.18 is that Benbo, dressed in uniform and highly posed, is presented in the manner of the formal portrait which has been rejected for Ruffy, de Villiers and Cobb. Indeed, resembling Augustus Earle's portrait of Captain John Piper, this picture of Benbo owes something to Joshua Reynolds and the conventions of eighteenth-century portraiture.<sup>68</sup> The result is somewhat ambiguous. The uniform, a sign of European authority, is overlaid with Benbo's Aboriginal status indicated by the Gorget or King Plate hung about his neck.<sup>69</sup> But this itself was a hierarchical designation imposed by the Europeans with no understanding of the hierarchy, or indeed absence of it, operating within Aboriginal culture. Also, King Plates were originally given to Aborigines as gifts to curry favour, and they came to identify individual Aborigines who appeared to cooperate with the colonists.<sup>70</sup> Benbo's pose is given further gravitas by the presence of the staff, and the letter, its seal suggesting its importance. But artist and viewer are complicit in the knowledge that Benbo is unlikely to be able to read. The incongruity makes the image humorous and the genre of portraiture is subverted in almost exactly the opposite way to the images of the bushmen. However, there was a grimmer side to this picture coming as it does in the tradition of representations of Aborigines in cast off European clothes most famously exemplified by Earle's pictures of Bungaree.<sup>71</sup> The imitation of civilized life only served to highlight the gulf between the two cultures leading McLean to conclude: 'No matter how skilfully and ironically Aborigines imitated Europeans, their

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<sup>67</sup> Andrew Sayers, *Australian Art* (Oxford, 2001), p. 29.

<sup>68</sup> Smith, *Place, Taste and Tradition*, p. 50.

<sup>69</sup> Marie Hansen Fels, *Good Men and True: Aboriginal Police of the Port Phillip District 1837-1853* (Melbourne, 1988), pp. 83-4. Fels argues that uniforms were important in Port Phillip society as a way of marking social distinction. The uniform of the Native Police Force was ornate and marked the wearer out from other Aborigines as well, Fels claims, as gaining respect from the Europeans.

<sup>70</sup> J. Troy, *King Plates: A History of Aboriginal Gorgets* (Canberra, 1993), p. 19.

<sup>71</sup> Augustus Earle made several images of Bungaree (-1830) from as early as 1826.

humorous parodies were deftly turned against them as a sign of their grotesquerie'.<sup>72</sup> Haydon's own attitude to the Aborigines of Port Phillip was complicated and is now examined.

### **'These children of the wilderness': Haydon and the Aborigines**

The statement in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* that Haydon was 'concerned about Aborigines...he stoutly defended them against the prejudices of the colonist, studied their language and customs and earned their respect'<sup>73</sup> belies the complexity of Haydon's attitude toward the indigenous Australian. Such complexity stemmed from the variety of contemporary intellectual currents emanating from religious doctrine, historical perspective, science and economics. But first and foremost Haydon would have been influenced by his own father. Samuel had first-hand knowledge of the slave trade from his time in South America. It seems pertinent too that on the voyage out to Australia Haydon had read Fenimore Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans*, a story of frontier conflict, of interaction between colonists and indigenous people, and of the extinction of a section of these people. Therefore, before he even arrived in Australia Haydon had some awareness of other imperial models for treating indigenous peoples. That Haydon had more than just a passing interest in the subject is evidenced by his notes from John Dunmore Lang's *New Zealand in 1839* on the prospects for the Maori, Robertson's *History of America*, and later Williams's *Missionary Enterprises in the South-Seas Islands*.<sup>74</sup>

Haydon's journals indicate he liked nothing better than to spend a day hunting with Aborigines and admiring their bushcraft. He was given the name 'big piccanniny Gubbernor' which Haydon (standing over six feet tall) translated as 'big young Governor', a name he proudly accepted not least because it was respectful of the European/Aboriginal hierarchy. He claimed he spent 'many a happy hour with these children of the wilderness' (J2, June 15 1841), but note again how his paternalistic terminology places the Aboriginal in the subordinate role.

Shortly after his arrival in Melbourne Haydon made the following and fullest of his journal entries concerning the Aborigines:

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<sup>72</sup> McLean, *White Aborigines*, pp. 29-30.

<sup>73</sup> 'George Henry Haydon (1822-1891)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 4 (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1972), pp. 362-3.

<sup>74</sup> J6, 8 September 1844, J. D. Lang, *New Zealand in 1839* (London, 1840); J3, 24 February 1844, William Robertson, *The History of South America* (1839) and John Williams, *Missionary Enterprise in the South-Seas Islands* (London, 1888).

## OF THE PORT PHILIP BLACKS

The Port Phillip Blacks, together with the whole of the Aboriginal inhabitants of New Holland, have been designated as mere brutes or as but a step from them. I cannot suppose they are so low as some imagine. I am sure they are not. I have seen to the contrary and have been to much trouble to enquire of them and hear their ideas of different things which have come under their observation. I am of the opinion that many of them are not a jot below the lower classes of Irish and English. They are savages, doubtless, but look to those who have placed themselves under the white man. If they had been treated kindly they would have been different people from what they are. Treated with treachery they have retaliated. And with cruelty they have been so in return. Revenges, unbridled revenges they have when an opportunity serves. Have they killed a few white men. Ten blacks have been destroyed for one white. The bullock drivers of the bush are allowed to be the most desperate characters, generally speaking. In the case of a murder of a certain shepherd it appears one of these bullock drivers out of sport confined a lot of blacks in a yard and there thrashed them, with an immense stock whip. As soon as they got liberty the first white man they met (the poor shepherd) they set on and murdered and that was their way of getting justice. They had no other. (J2, December 1840)

Whilst Haydon is clearly expressing a sense of injustice at the way Aborigines had been treated he is, in equating Aborigines with the lower classes of the Irish and English, exemplifying an attitude that Henry Reynolds connects with the 'colonial elite' who were 'not offering equality to blacks but merely space on the lowest rungs of society'.<sup>75</sup> Moreover, European occupants of these rungs would most likely resist Aboriginal assimilation seeing it as economic competition.<sup>76</sup> Ryan suggests that even if assimilation was possible it was initially detrimental: 'the intersection of class and racial discourse...leads to the proletarianisation of the Aborigines, their assimilation becoming an immediate relegation'.<sup>77</sup>

Haydon was probably collecting material for a guide from the very outset of his stay in Australia but his anthropological interest was genuine and quite typical in the climate of scientific curiosity about mankind. The idea that the Aborigines were a dying race was a prevalent and increasing one by the mid-nineteenth century although explanations as to the cause varied and went beyond merely the loss of Aboriginal population due to the introduction of European diseases and deaths by violence. Some considered it to be the design of Providence whilst others thought it was inevitable that

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<sup>75</sup> Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier*, p. 147.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 147-8.

<sup>77</sup> Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye*, p. 29.



a primitive race would recede before civilization. McGregor argues that what lay behind the doomed race theory was an 'ultimate pessimism in Aboriginal abilities' where ability was judged simply by willingness to adopt European values and life-style.<sup>78</sup>

Such a theory had appeal particularly to those colonists directly involved in the land. In one sense Haydon was just as intent on economic exploitation of the colony as any of the squatters and pastoralists, or gold diggers that were shortly to follow. As a newspaper clerk, an architect or artist he may have been removed from the 'frontier' but he was still indirectly reliant on the economy of the wool trade. His most direct contact with the land was on French Island (see Chapter 3) but this was uninhabited by Aborigines.<sup>79</sup> During his journey with Robinson (see Chapter 3) it will be seen that although he travelled with some Aboriginal companions he did not meet with the much feared 'wild' natives. Having no real investment in the land, and with no direct conflict with the Aboriginal population Haydon, could perhaps afford a more 'generous' attitude toward the indigenes than was common in the pastoral community.

Haydon's arrival in Australia also coincided with a time of increased pressure for the humanitarian treatment of the Aborigines though often this came from Britain. The Aboriginal Protection Society had been established (partly out of anti-slavery enthusiasm) in London in 1838 and the Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate had been set up in 1837 in response to an enquiry that concluded the British government must take responsibility for the protection, education and conversion of the Aborigines to Christianity. Christianity, or rather the Aborigines' lack of it, was of course one of the main justifications for their dispossession of the land which, according to biblical teachings, God had decreed should be cultivated.

Haydon's own belief was that the Port Phillip Aborigines should be given land to cultivate and houses to live in, and taught the value of a return on labour and a settled way of life before, or at least contemporaneously with, being introduced to Christianity. Missionaries he felt were useless (and indeed by the 1840s they had a tradition of failure in Australia<sup>80</sup>) as was the Aboriginal Protectorate. Haydon later wrote:

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<sup>78</sup> Russell McGregor, *Imagined Destinies: Aboriginal Australia and the Doomed Race Theory, 1880-1939* (Carlton, Victoria, 1997), p. 18.

<sup>79</sup> Aldo Massola, *Journey to Aboriginal Victoria* (Adelaide, 1969), p. 161. Aborigines visited French Island to collect birds' eggs but appear not to have camped there.

<sup>80</sup> Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia*, p. 157.

What knowledge do they possess of a moral law, supposed to have been inculcated by their protectors....Nothing whatever. Ask a black man why he does not kill or steal, and he will tell you because he fears hanging. Nothing but the dread of punishment in this world prevents them from indulging in the desires of their savage nature which frequently shows itself when opportunity and a feeling of security favours them. (*AF*, p. 96)

Again it is possible to detect here the influence of Enlightenment tenets that privileged reason over religion and saw human development as a progression through various phases of economic and social development, a progression that was available to all mankind.<sup>81</sup> This neatly combined the moral with the economic justification of empire: the by-product of the civilized native was a useful workforce. Haydon often displayed a form of racism that Porter describes as ‘culturism’: he saw nothing innately inferior in Aborigines because of their skin colour or racial origin but rather because their culture was less developed. Once they had adopted European ways and values they would be perfectly capable of equality, at least with the working classes.<sup>82</sup>

Haydon’s relationship with Benbo is interesting and perhaps best exemplifies the way in which he combined genuine sympathy for the Port Phillip Aborigines with a more racially based prejudice than the culturism just mentioned:

This man was the head of a small tribe belonging to the Weiraby River, and was always remarkable for his good disposition. He was in the Native Police force... As proof of his attachment to myself, I may state that when he saw me leave the wharf at Melbourne for the last time, he expressed his sorrow at my being obliged to go to England, and said as plainly as I could read his black but intelligent physiognomy, “I wish I were going with you”; but the steamer started, and the last time I caught a glimpse of poor Benbo through the trees on the Yarra’s banks he had folded his arms and appeared to be thinking that in me he had lost a friend. I am sure I did in him, and one I have no reason to be ashamed of notwithstanding his being but a half civilized man and a black; and let the world say what it will, I know there is a strong prejudice against a black skin whether it belong to a Toussaint L’Ouverture or to a “nigger help.” As Benbo was once instrumental in saving my life, I have good reason to be grateful to him. (*AF*, p. 117)<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 148-9; McGregor, *Imagined Destinies*, p.12. The debate over which should come first, civilization or Christianity, was a common one.

<sup>82</sup> B. Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists*, pp. 78-9.

<sup>83</sup> Toussaint L’Ouverture was the black leader of a slave revolt in Saint Dominique (Haiti) in 1791. He later agreed to help the French against the British and Spanish but was ultimately betrayed by Napoleon.

Though talking about Benbo Haydon remains both the focus of the extract and the interpreter of Benbo's emotions. Benbo is 'remarkable' (and as a policeman useful), and therefore not typical of his race. His sorrow is read from his 'black but intelligent physiognomy'. This is a clear reference to phrenology (the then popular pseudo-science of correlating the size and shape of the cranium with elements of character and mental ability), and emphasises that Benbo is intelligent despite being black. Haydon is aware of the attitude of those who despised what they saw as 'nigger lovers' and traitors to their race.<sup>84</sup> He defends the friendship 'notwithstanding' that Benbo was 'black' and 'half-civilised', and one can not help but wonder if the reference to Benbo having saved his life (which is never explained), and therefore being worthy of friendship, was actually a sop to his potential critics.



Figure 2.20 Gellibrand, 4 x 6, from George Henry Haydon, letter to Samuel Haydon, 26 November 1840, HC.

Another Port Phillip Aborigine who Haydon appears to have known is Gellibrand. A familiar figure in and around Melbourne, Gellibrand was a corporal in the Native Police. Originally from the Geelong area, he was part of the Yarra group of people and had originally been called Beruke. He became known as Gellibrand after acting as a guide in 1837 to the (unsuccessful but heroic) search party who went after the missing lawyer Joseph T Gellibrand.<sup>85</sup> The above sketch is from a letter Haydon

<sup>84</sup> Henry Reynolds, *This Whispering in Our Hearts* (St Leonards, NSW, 1998), p. xv.

<sup>85</sup> Massola, *Journey to Aboriginal Victoria*, p. 19.

wrote to his father and includes pen marks which Haydon has described as 'his [Gellibrand's] mark' suggesting Haydon wished to send his father not only the likeness of an Aborigine but also the 'signature'.<sup>86</sup>

Haydon's concern to emphasise that both Benbo and Gellibrand were Aborigines of a certain status points to a further influence on his attitude. Cannadine has highlighted a pre-Enlightenment approach to other racial societies which was more concerned with social status than with skin colour.<sup>87</sup> A king commanded the respect due to a king irrespective of race. Although this was a convention that dated back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and had greater application in the more socially stratified societies of India, Haydon is assuring his audience that these Aborigines are by their status worthy of his association.

The various ways in which Haydon expressed his interest in the Aborigines will be returned to on several occasions in the course of this study as Haydon continued to display his own mixture of concern, curiosity and prejudice.

The Market Square store of J. B. Were, and any cottages Haydon may have designed in Brighton have long since gone. The various surviving pictures Haydon produced during this period, and even the references to those since lost, have a more lasting value not only because they show what various aspects of early Port Phillip and its people may have looked like, but because of what they say about Haydon's engagement with people and place; why such images were produced, and why they took the form they did. These are themes that shall be returned to as more of Haydon's art is examined.

Haydon's Melbourne journal stopped on 2 August 1841, the day of a lunar eclipse. He can be placed in and around Melbourne during 1842 by the date of some of the sketches and his advertisement in the *Port Phillip Patriot*. By 1843 it was clear that neither art nor architecture were going to sustain Haydon in Melbourne much less provide him with a fortune. He would have to look further afield for his next moneymaking enterprise.

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<sup>86</sup> Collecting signatures of well-known people was a popular Victorian pursuit.

<sup>87</sup> Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, pp. 8-10.

### Chapter 3: Going Bush



Figure 3.1 A bushman, 10 x 17, HC.

When not working or looking for work in Melbourne, Haydon was likely to be out sketching, collecting specimens of strange insects to send home, or hunting with his Aboriginal friends. In observing and collecting the flora and fauna, and taking an interest in the indigene Haydon was doing what was expected of a well-bred, educated young man exercising an enquiring mind. Natural history was a genuine and lifelong interest for Haydon and prior to his departure for Australia he had taken the trouble to read-up on the art of taxidermy.<sup>1</sup> Everything, right down to the smallest insect that Haydon collected had its place in the hierarchy of beings. The idea that God's work, and therefore the source of human progress, was to be found in the study of nature rather than study of the Bible stimulated interest in empirical scientific investigation. Such scientific enquiry was the key to technical, social and philosophical advancement.<sup>2</sup>

Curiosity about what lay outside Melbourne and a lack of prosperity within it inevitably led Haydon to venture further afield and head for the bush, a place where the colonist had two options: to exploit or to explore the land. Haydon did both.

### French Island



Figure 3.2 Map of French Island in Western Port Bay, 8 x 6, HC.

Haydon's surviving journals recommence in October 1843 when he is embarking on his most adventurous, and frankly bizarre, attempt at making money. With his friend Jack

<sup>1</sup> Noted in unbound booklet 'MS Extracts and Readings', 1837 & 1843-1848, HC.

<sup>2</sup> Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia*, pp. 86-7.

Sanger<sup>3</sup> he moved onto the uninhabited French Island in Western Port Bay with the intention of burning the mangroves which grew around the island's swampy coast in order to produce barilla.<sup>4</sup> Barilla was an alkaline ash residue obtained by burning certain plants high in sodium. Its commercial value lay mainly in its application to the production of soap and glass. Mangroves around the Western Port District had been used on a small scale prior to Haydon's endeavours although mangrove was not a particularly good source of either the sodium or potassium required to produce the alkaline material and, in any case, a method for the conversion of common salt to soda had been developed some years earlier.<sup>5</sup>

Haydon's map at figure 3.2 indicates the position of the various settlers' stations around Western Port. Haydon's Clearing is the area between present day Palmer Point and Albions Point, and the promontory on the other side of the island, now called Tortoise Head was then Haydon's Point. Sanger is accorded no such accolade (though of course his own sketch map might have been labelled somewhat differently). As a map Haydon's sketch is all but useless. However, his attempt to fill in the blank spaces in a colonial landscape is what Ryan sees as an 'energetic emplacement of civilization'. Such maps as tools of appropriation erased a pre-history and inserted a new narrative.<sup>6</sup> With its emphasis of the settlers' stations, Haydon's map is more about possession than location.

For someone who had initially seemed reluctant to get his hands dirty Haydon could not have chosen a more arduous way of making a living. French Island was a particularly inhospitable place inhabited by all manner of things that bit, stung or slithered; ants, mosquitoes and snakes were to be a constant irritation.

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<sup>3</sup> R.V. Billis and A. S. Kenyon, *Pastoral Pioneers of Port Phillip*, 2nd edition (Melbourne, 1974), p. 136. John Mildred Sanger (1816-1904) occupied land on the Plenty River from 1840-41.

<sup>4</sup> Ruth Gooch, *Frontier French Island* (Melbourne, 2006), p. 12. Gooch claims Haydon and Sanger were the first known inhabitants of French Island.

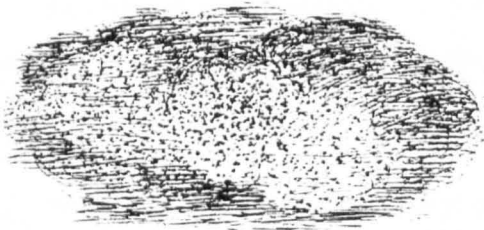
<sup>5</sup> Juliet F. Bird, 'The Barilla Industry of Westernport Bay Victoria, Australia', *Victorian Naturalist* 92 (October 1975), pp. 206-7.

<sup>6</sup> Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye*, pp. 124-6.

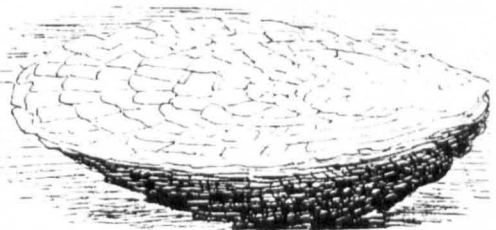
*Then they fell in with the natives. First there was the Marsh Brown tribe with a bite like 10,000 famishing fleas*



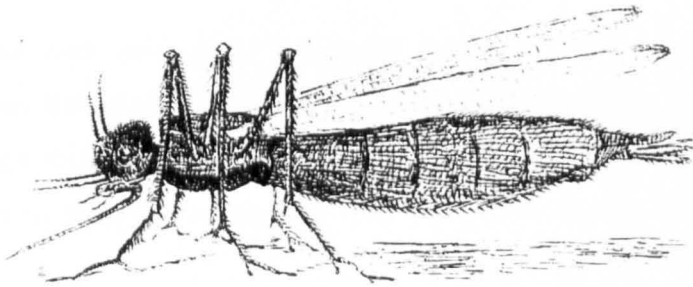
*Then came the Sand fly Tribe, then the Oysters, an exceedingly*



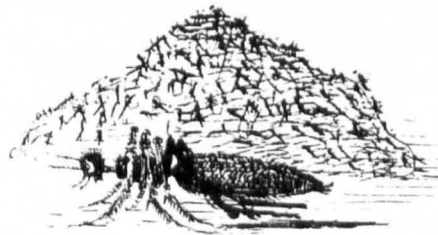
*A cloud of Sand flies  
(sketched from nature.)*



*useful and well behaved Tribe but  
by no means so numerous as  
could be desired.*



*A French Island Mosquito - half the natural size.*



*A Red Ant - one tenth the size of life.*

Figure 3.3 From *These, to a Trusty Bush Companion*, William Ker, 1860, HC.

Then they fell in with the natives. First there was the Marsh brown tribe with a bite like 10,000 famished fleas. Then came the Sand fly Tribe, then the Oysters – an exceedingly useful and well behaved Tribe but by no means so numerous as could be desired. A cloud of Sand flies (sketched from nature). (A French Island Mosquito – half the natural size. A Red Ant – one tenth the size of life.



The above sketches were produced in 1860 by Haydon as part of a series retrospective of his life of French Island and were probably based on sketches made *in situ*. Both his reference to the various ‘tribes’ and his claim to be recording the ants ‘life-size’ suggest he was parodying the conventions of anthropological descriptions, scientific recording and the categorization of natural history. Again, Haydon was also using humour to reduce the horrors of reality.

Despite the inhospitality of French Island Haydon must have found the economics of the barilla enterprise compelling. He later claimed that he and Sanger had done some rough calculations:

Ninety miles of mangrove coast would yield 5,967,103 tons 3 hundredweight 3 quarters and 18 pounds green mangrove wood which when burnt was to have yielded about a hundredth part of ashes, or say 59,631 tons at £10 per ton would have just left £596,310 sterling to be divided into two equal parts of £298,155.<sup>7</sup>

These calculations may have been somewhat fanciful but the two men set out optimistically from Robert Jamieson’s station, Torbinurruck, near present day Lang Lang on the eastern shore of Western Port. They left in a boat, rather ominously called *The Coffin* due to its tendency to capsize, with the serious intention of making some money.

Having chosen a suitable spot on the island Haydon and Sanger proceeded to build a wooden shack they named Ventilation Hut on account of its only having three sides. ‘I most certainly found it much easier to design a house than to build one,’ wrote Haydon. (J3, final page)

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<sup>7</sup> Lecture given by George Henry Haydon at Bethlem Royal Hospital, 17 July 1862, HC.

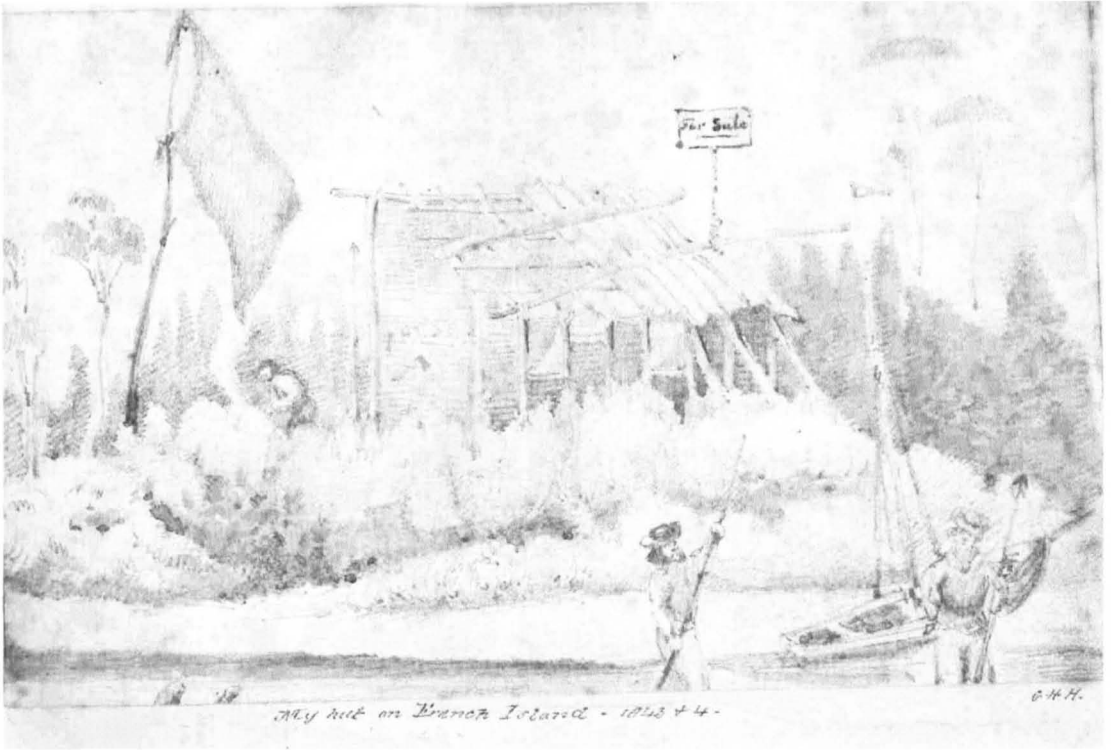


Figure 3.4 ‘My hut on French Island 1843 & 4’, 15 x 8, HC.

In so far as the relationship between Sanger and Haydon was one of companionship in isolation and mutual support in an enterprise it conforms to the ideals of matehship. It is, however, notable that once on French Island Haydon and Sanger agreed to take it in turns to be in charge and designated ‘King’. Though they believe themselves to be each others’ equal, they reject bush egalitarianism in favour of an imposed (and understood) hierarchy.

The production of barilla was incredibly demanding work as the mangroves, which had to be cut and heaped into piles, grew in swampy conditions and produced sharp aerial roots. Haydon and Sanger ruined all their boots and tore their feet on these thorny outcrops, and Haydon was to take to his grave the French Island mud which entered the wounds.

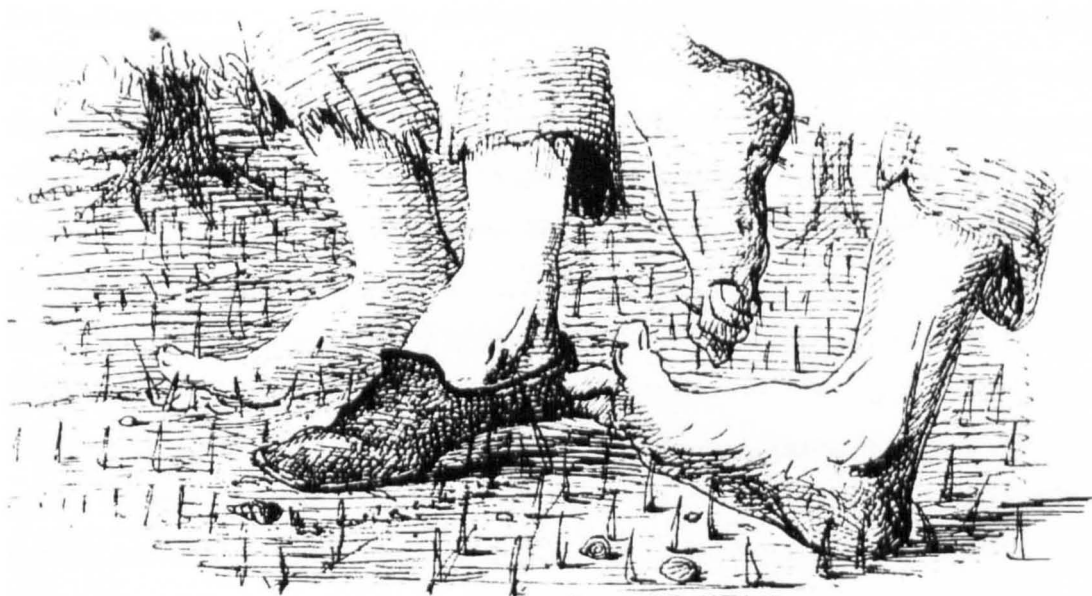


Figure 3.5 From *These, to a Trusty Bush Companion*, William Ker, 1860, HC.

Despite the humour of this picture Haydon is depicting the serious colonial theme of man's battle with nature. A frontier landscape must necessarily be seen as dangerous and the site of manly struggle. At the same time Haydon draws attention to the disparity between the heroic dream and the uncomfortable and often banal reality, a disparity which seems particularly Australian.

With their huge fires burning away, the two men proved quite a local curiosity. The poet and writer Richard Howitt, whilst undertaking a walk to Western Port and Cape Schanck, recorded how he tried, unsuccessfully, to find Haydon on French Island.<sup>8</sup>

Whilst Haydon's initial calculations had been based on achieving £10 per ton, by the end of the year the value of barilla had fallen to just £4 per ton. Ironically, the boiling down of livestock for tallow in response to the crash in the wool market probably stimulated the adoption of other, more efficient sources of an alkali.<sup>9</sup> Once again, Haydon was a victim of bad timing.

Haydon and Sanger decided to supplement their income by swanning, the skins and quills from the swan having some value in Melbourne.<sup>10</sup> These could also be traded

<sup>8</sup> Richard Howitt, *Impressions of Australia Felix during Four Years Residence in that Colony* (London, 1845), pp. 134-50. It is possible that Haydon knew Howitt as they were both friends of William Thomas during 1842. Howitt was brother of the author William Howitt.

<sup>9</sup> Bird, 'The Barilla Industry of Westernport Bay', p. 207.

<sup>10</sup> J3, 25 December 1843. Catching swans for their down was done between November and February when the swans were moulting and unable to fly.

for food and other items with the passing cutters and small boats that called in to French Island. On one occasion Haydon exchanged two skins for 700 bricks with Councillor Smith.<sup>11</sup> Haydon and Sanger also spent periods on the mainland assisting local squatters. At the end of November 1843 they crossed over on the *Sally* with Captain Stratton to Cromwell (near present-day Hastings Bight on the Mornington Peninsula). Haydon then accompanied Stratton's dray across the peninsula to the Port Phillip side. His comment that during this trip he was forced to cut 'divers trees' (*J3*, 30 November 1843) has led Ruth Gooch to speculate on whether this was the beginning of the Frankston-Flinders Road.<sup>12</sup> Visits were also made to the opposite side of Western Port where Haydon assisted his friend and local squatter, Fitzherbert Mundy with his harvest, probably in return for food and lodgings. (*J3*, 23 December 1843)<sup>13</sup>

Throughout this hand-to-mouth existence Haydon retained his sense of humour and there is evidence of a stoicism and comradeship that can definitely be seen as part of the emerging bush ethos. The freedom of bush life and proximity to nature appealed to Haydon although he was far from abandoning civilization. His journal often records which book or chapter from the Bible he has been reading.

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<sup>11</sup> *J3*, 6 January 1844; Gooch, p. 15. This was Councillor John Smith the representative of Bourke Ward in Melbourne. There is no record of what Haydon did with the bricks though they might suggest he was contemplating the construction of a more permanent dwelling.

<sup>12</sup> Gooch, *Frontier French Island*, pp. 13-14.

<sup>13</sup> *J3*, 22 January 1844. Fitzherbert Miller Mundy of Mallum Mallum station, Red Bluff. Mundy had acted as a trustee of the Port Phillip Bank prior to 1845.



*These were the Companions of my Solitude  
in 1843.*

Figure 3.6 ‘These were the Companions of my Solitude in 1843’ from *These, to a Trusty Bush Companion*, William Ker, 1860, HC.

Although this sketch was made some years later, Haydon’s insertion of *The Course of Time* among his books is an accurate recollection of what he was reading.<sup>14</sup>

The barilla venture was probably doomed to failure from the start, but Haydon and Sanger were also hampered by rain spoiling the ash, theft (which Haydon thought a particularly unforgivable crime against bush ethics), bickering among themselves, and lack of food and fresh water. Total disaster almost struck when Sanger took *The Coffin*

<sup>14</sup> Robert Pollack, *The Course of Time*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition (Edinburgh, 1827). This is a ten part didactic Christian poem.

across the bay to get provisions. Hitting a squall the boat lost its mast and sail. Haydon assumed it had capsized and hurried across the island to summon help from Mundy by lighting a fire which was the prearranged distress signal. When he received no response he left a note saying:

Go up the Bay – look for the Coffin, bottom upwards – and save my mate. When you find him put in at my place. I am out of grub. GHH 3<sup>rd</sup> Mudbank N.E. (*BL*, p. 46)

Haydon spent two uncomfortable days alone on the island fearing his friend and partner was drowned. Fortunately Sanger had come ashore at Jamieson's station and the two men were reunited a few days later.

The outcome of the barilla venture was one that was to become common in Australian frontier history; the landscape was not tamed but rather it ultimately defeated the men. The burnt mangroves regenerated and French Island continued to repel man's attempts to settle, cultivate or exploit it. The site of a prison from 1915-1975, French Island is now a State Park preserved as a haven for wildlife.

As Haydon began to realise that he was not going to become a wealthy barilla baron his mind turned to other things. But Port Phillip was still in the grip of depression and there seemed little point in returning to Melbourne as: 'Nothing will pay and as for doing anything in town, it's out of the question'. (*J3*, 31 March 1844) Haydon gives a vivid description of the gloomy economic situation:

News from town. The last arrived emigrants in a bad state, working on the roads for their grub. Things altogether if possible worse than last accounts. Where will it end? Labourers £10 a year, which is worse than in England. Government will soon stop emigration if they find they have to keep those they send out on their landing. This is what they are now doing in PP. Barilla worth next to nothing in town. I can't see my way at all, but I'll not say die. Melbourne Races this year supported chiefly by last year's insolvents. This looks bad. Everyone on his legs again. No gigs. Carriages etc. etc. No 'literary blacksmith' offering to bet £500 to £200 on 'Romeo' (I once heard offered by a blacksmith of the golden age). No such notices as the following were plastered about 'Notis [sic] - Any man as hires below £40 a year shall never hire again.' No convicts are 'bolting' from the government stockades for they are much better off than the newly arrived emigrants – as far as rationing, clothing and lodgings are concerned. (*J3*, 30 March 1844)

Not only was Haydon feeling pessimistic about prospects in Port Phillip he was also feeling homesick: 'Six months and not a syllable of news from Home. I shall not be able

to stand this much longer – there must be letters for me somewhere in Town.’ (J3, 8 April 1844)

At some point in early 1844 word had reached Haydon of a legacy of £250 left to him in England. Whereas two years earlier he had written so confidently of what he could do with £200, Haydon now insisted that this money be made over to his father. Perhaps he knew in his heart that he was going home; he was lucky in having that option. Whilst his colonial career had initially been hampered by a lack of capital Haydon must have ultimately considered himself fortunate that he had started with so little to lose. It was not so for some of his friends and his journal is littered with references to ‘Were’s failure’ (J3, 20 February 1844); Sanger’s return to Melbourne to ‘settle some insolvent business’ (J4, undated note); Mundy’s station deserted and the ‘poor fellow’s’ cattle seized. (BL. p. 47). William Kerr, George Arden, and Frederick Manton were others among Haydon’s friends and acquaintances who went bankrupt. Estimates vary, but of fewer than 1,000 people engaged in trade and commerce, 277 failed between 1842 and 1844.<sup>15</sup> Port Phillip was now a depressed and depressing place. From Thomas McCombie’s *Arabin* to Henry Handel Richardson’s *The Fortunes of Richard Mahony*, the fate of men broken by the antipodes would become a popular theme in Australian literature.<sup>16</sup> De Serville suggests that the depression took a particular toll on the gentlemen colonists. Suicide, madness and death by drink were the fate of many who could not face returning home a failure. For those who could swallow their pride returning was an option only if they could muster the fare, or in some cases work their passage. But if Haydon now had the inclination to go home he did not yet have the means.

When Haydon and Sanger returned to the mainland in April 1844 they divided, after expenses, their profit of £8 15s 6d before parting company. Haydon remained at Western Port uncertain of the next step. Despite what the two men had been through together there is no further mention of Sanger in Haydon’s Australian journals, and nothing to suggest the two kept in touch. It would appear their mateship had not extended to friendship.

During his time spent around Westernport Haydon had met and enjoyed the hospitality of many of the early squatters. Some he counted friends, and some were later to appear thinly disguised in his fictional work *The Australian Emigrant*. Though station

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<sup>15</sup> Shaw, *A History of the Port Phillip District*, p. 166.

<sup>16</sup> De Serville, *Port Phillip Gentlemen*, p. 25.



life was often rough and accommodation rudimentary, Haydon was far from lowering himself socially with some of the company he kept. As Gunson points out, many of the squatters were gentlemen, or from mercantile and professional backgrounds.<sup>17</sup> Haydon's particular friend, Fitzherbert Mundy at Red Bluff, was a genuine blueblood, being nephew of both the Duchess of Newcastle and Lady Charles Fitzroy. He was a member of the Melbourne Club as were a number of Haydon's other friends and acquaintances.<sup>18</sup> Staying at Mundy's after a period of roughing it Haydon recorded enjoyed the luxury of 'real sheets'. (J3, 2 January 1844) He also noted Mundy's liking for drink which was to cause his premature death in 1847.

**Haydon's road to Gippsland**

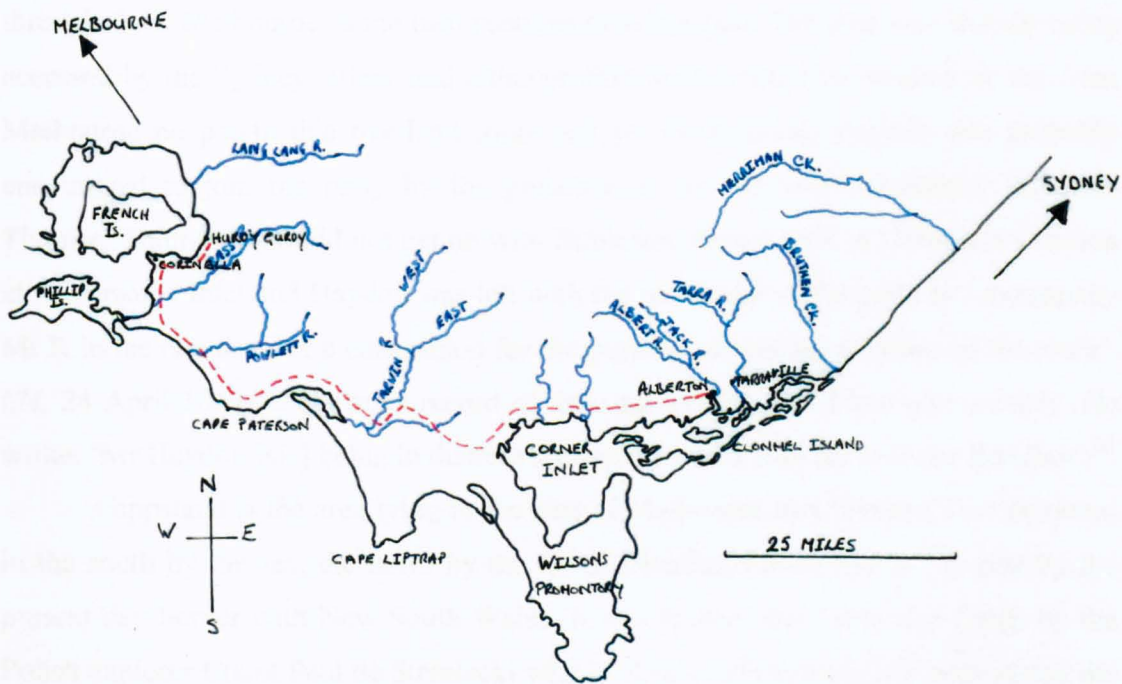


Figure 3.7 Map of Haydon's route to Gippsland in 1844.

Although Haydon became an explorer more by chance than intent, his experiences and the way in which they were recorded are illustrative of the process of exploration. Examination and comparison of various accounts of his journey into Gippsland shows that the activity of exploration involved more than merely finding a way over the physical landscape: it was full of conflicts, individual agendas, group dynamics and

<sup>17</sup> Niel Gunson, *The Good Country: Cranbourne Shire* (Melbourne, 1968), p. 41.  
<sup>18</sup> These include J. B. Were, Surveyor Foot, William Kerr, the Jamieson brothers of Western Port and the Martin brothers of Brighton.



retrospective revisions. What particularly emerges is the way in which the presence of Aborigines, both as part of the exploration party and as occupants of the ‘supposedly’ unoccupied land, proved problematical to the recording of the exploration journey. Inconsistencies between the various accounts indicate the Aborigines who accompanied the party played a much more significant role than is usually acknowledged as they assisted, and on occasions frustrated, the European explorers. It is now possible to set Haydon’s journey in the full historical context of the exploration of Gippsland.

On 23 April 1844 at Settlement Point, near present day Corinella, Haydon met George Augustus Robinson, Chief Protector of the Aborigines.<sup>19</sup> Robinson had left Melbourne some days earlier and had reached the station of James Cuthbert and Robert Gardiner at Hurdy Gurdy on the eastern side of Western Port Bay. Robinson was undertaking an expedition on behalf of Crown Commissioner Tyers to open a route through from Melbourne to the lush pastures of Gippsland. The area was already being accessed by the Sydney-siders, and although Port Albert could be reached by sea from Melbourne no practicable overland route had yet been found. Haydon was probably encouraged to join the party by the presence of his old friend Assistant Protector Thomas. Thomas, who did not get on with Robinson, turned back at Chisholm’s station at Anderson’s Inlet and Haydon was left with the remainder of the party to ‘accompany Mr R in the character of a companion for the purpose of making sketches of the route’. (J4, 24 April 1844) Robinson’s record of their association put it less glamorously. He wrote: ‘Mr Heydon [sic] being in distress allowed him to attend me to make sketches’.<sup>20</sup>

Gippsland is the area lying to the east of Melbourne and Western Port bordered in the south by the sea, the north by the Great Dividing Range and to the east by the present day border with New South Wales. It was named after Governor Gipps by the Polish explorer Count Paul de Strzelecki who is often credited with first discovering the region, although today the term seems inappropriate when referring to an area which had been known and inhabited by the clans of the Kurnai people for many thousands of years. Nevertheless, discovery was how it was seen at the time and Strzelecki’s claim to primacy of discovery was to prove contentious. It was disputed by the Monaro pastoralist Angus McMillan who maintained that he had penetrated as far as the La Trobe River in January 1840 naming Lake Victoria and the Mitchell River along the

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<sup>19</sup> Settlement Point was the site of a short-lived attempt at establishing a settlement at Western Port in 1827.

<sup>20</sup> Clark (ed.), *The Journals of George Augustus Robinson*, vol. 4, p. 36.

way, and the area in general Caledonia Australis. In May 1841 he reached as far as the coast somewhere near the spot which would later become Port Albert.<sup>21</sup> McMillan's claim was in turn contested by Edward Bayliss another pastoralist who purported to have reached Ninety Mile beach in November 1838.

Count Strzelecki's journey had been made in March 1840 but whereas Strzelecki immediately gave a glowing account of his discovery to the press, McMillan had not been quite so prompt in going public. The cynics of the day were quick to point out that it was not necessarily in the interest of a grazier who had found a route through to rich pastures to share that knowledge and accordingly some thought McMillan should not receive the same accolade for having performed a public service as the more impartial Count.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, it was McMillan's names for the rivers and other features which were adopted, but the area in general remained known by Strzelecki's name of Gippsland. The debate over who got where and when was to rumble on for years and, although it is not the concern of this study, it does illustrate the passion with which European explorers desired to say 'I was first' notwithstanding the fatuous notion of 'first' in an already occupied land. McMillan, Strzelecki and Bayliss were, in any case, all approaching Gippsland from the east or Sydney side, whilst there remained no route by which to access the Gippsland pastures from the west or Melbourne side.<sup>23</sup>

Gippsland received further attention when on 2 January 1841 (as noted by Haydon) the steamship *Clonmel*, whilst taking mail and passengers from Melbourne to Sydney, ran aground in the shallow waters off Corner Inlet. Whilst waiting to be rescued the crew and passengers had a chance to explore some of the coastline and surrounding area about which they gave promising reports.<sup>24</sup>

In response to these various favourable accounts, the Gippsland Company had been formed in February 1841 by a number of pastoralists including William Brodribb.<sup>25</sup> These men had chartered the barque *Singapore*, and sailed around the coast from Melbourne to Corner Inlet searching for a suitable landing place to which livestock could be transported. They settled on a point at the mouth of the Tarra and Albert rivers and so established Port Albert which was conveniently located for trade with Van Diemen's Land. Cattle fattened on the lush Gippsland pasture could compete

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<sup>21</sup> P. D. Gardner, *Our Founding Murdering Father: Angus McMillan and the Kurnai Tribe of Gippsland 1839-1865* (Ensay, Victoria, 1990), pp. 11-15.

<sup>22</sup> James Bonwick, *Port Phillip Settlement* (London, 1883), p. 497; Gardner, p. 20.

<sup>23</sup> For a discussion on the merits of the various claims see Gardner, pp. 11-27.

<sup>24</sup> Charles Daley, *The Story of Gippsland* (Melbourne, 1960), p. 15.

<sup>25</sup> William Brodribb, 'Gippsland and its Explorers', *The Australasian*, 11 May 1878.

at sales in Hobart with Van Diemen's Land cattle which fared less well on their own overused pastures. However, an overland route to Melbourne was still required. Several attempts were made in 1841 but all were frustrated by either floods or the incredibly dense nature of the scrub. In June of that year Albert (brother of William) Brodribb, Edward Hobson, Dr Baker and four natives tried a route by foot that took them along the La Trobe River.<sup>26</sup> This was only partially successful and the *Port Phillip Herald* of 27 August 1842 pointed out: 'If the Melbournites do not secure this country to themselves now the Maneroo settlers will most assuredly take possession of it for fattening their superabundant stock.'<sup>27</sup> This prompted more attempts. In March 1843 Robert McClure struggled through to Melbourne and died shortly afterwards having suffered greatly. The following August William Odell Raymond, Albert Brodribb, Mr Pearson and one Aborigine also made it through to Western Port but faced with almost impenetrable scrub they were forced to abandon the packhorses after only one day and proceed on foot.<sup>28</sup> Gippsland historian W. J. Cuthill has identified at least twelve attempts made between 1840 and 1844; all were characterised by abandoned equipment and livestock, impossible terrain, and food shortages.<sup>29</sup>

In September 1843 Gippsland had been formally designated as a district and Charles James Tyers appointed the first Commissioner of Crown Lands. Isolated from Melbourne and miles from Sydney, Port Albert had become lawless with squatters and smugglers operating unchecked. It became essential for Tyers to open a passable route from Melbourne and impose law and order on the area. Accordingly he left Melbourne with a party in September 1843 only to return three months later defeated by the heavy rains, floods and inhospitable terrain.<sup>30</sup> The following January he set out for Port Albert by sea. At the same time a party lead by Sergeant-Major Peacock also failed to establish an overland route but in March it was reported that Mr Powlett, Crown Commissioner for Western Port, had discovered 'an easy and expeditious route perfectly practicable for the driving of sheep or cattle'.<sup>31</sup> This report was received with some scepticism and

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<sup>26</sup> W. J. Cuthill, 'The Gippsland Road 1836-1848', *Victorian Historical Magazine* 29.1(1959), pp. 15-16.

<sup>27</sup> *Port Phillip Herald*, 27 August 1842 quoted in A. W. Grieg, 'The Beginnings of Gippsland', *Victorian Historical Magazine*, 2 (May 1912), p. 56.

<sup>28</sup> John D. Adams (ed.), *From These Beginnings: History of the Shire of Albion* (Yarram, Victoria, 1991), p. 4.

<sup>29</sup> Cuthill, pp. 8-33.

<sup>30</sup> 'The Gipps Land Expedition', *Port Phillip Patriot*, 28 December 1843.

<sup>31</sup> Grieg, p. 65.

soon after, at the instigation of Tyers, a government party led by Robinson departed from Melbourne.

Robinson had been appointed Chief Protector of Aborigines for the Port Phillip District in 1839. During the ten years prior to this appointment Robinson had been involved in the attempted conciliation and subsequent removal of the Tasmanian Aborigines to a settlement on Flinders Island where they were to be taught to live a settled and Christian way of life. The project was not a success and rather than saving the Tasmanian tribes it hastened their total demise. Haydon stated that when he joined the 1844 expedition its purpose was to find a practicable route through to Gippsland for wheeled vehicles, but Robinson's brief was also to make contact with the Gippsland natives and those further east.<sup>32</sup>

In addition to Robinson and Haydon, the party comprised six native policemen; Tanmale, Mumbo, Munmunginnong, Woeworong, Ballagera, and Mooney, accompanied by Sergeant-Major Samuel Windridge, Superintendent of the Native Police Corps.<sup>33</sup> There were also, to accompany the dray, three government men (i.e. convicts); William Farley the bullock driver, Keef the pathfinder, and Davey Cambell the cook. This made the party twelve men in all plus eight bullocks, two kangaroo dogs, a bull dog and several horses.<sup>34</sup>

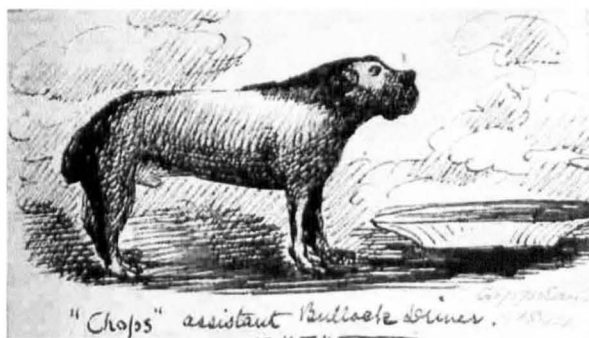


Figure 3.8 “Chops” assistant Bullock Driver Gipps Land 1844’, 8x5, HC.

Like those who had attempted the route before, Robinson's party encountered considerable difficulty in moving through the dense scrub, so dense in parts that a man on foot had difficulty passing through, let alone bullocks and a dray. Haydon later described it as ‘like forcing a way through a thick set hedge with the addition of

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121 & 158.

<sup>33</sup> Clark (ed.), *The Journals of George Augustus Robinson*, vol. 4, p. 30. Robinson's spellings for the native police differ from Haydon's and are Tanmale, Mumbo, Munmunjunner, Woeworong, Polligere, and Mone Mone; For details of the careers of these men see Blake, pp. 18-20.

<sup>34</sup> Clark (ed.), *The Journals of George Augustus Robinson*, vol. 4, p. 30.

saplings and full grown trees springing in every direction'.<sup>35</sup> This thick mass of material comprised mature hazel, musk, blackwood, wattle, eucalypts and a variety of saplings. In places scrub gave way to forest with gigantic trees (now mostly gone).



Figure 3.9 Gippsland scrub, K. Haydon, photograph, 2003.

It is ironic that Robinson noted in his journal that the tribe which had inhabited the area were now 'defunct' and, as a consequence, the country was unburned resulting in it being scrubby and difficult to pass through.<sup>36</sup> Not only was this a clear acknowledgement of the prior occupation of the land, not to mention its management by fire-stick farming, but the tribe's then being, as Robinson euphemistically says, 'defunct' had actually become an inconvenience to the Europeans.

A path had to be cleared in front of the dray which necessitated the cutting of a swathe through the trees and undergrowth. Accordingly progress was slow and sometimes just a mile or two would be covered in a day. Both Haydon and Robinson recorded coming across the path of Powlett although it was only recognisable from initials cut in a tree and by the ability of the Aborigines to recognise recent tracks invisible to their white companions. Progress was further hampered as the land was intersected by numerous gullies, creeks and rivers. At the larger watercourses a suitable

<sup>35</sup> Haydon, *Australia Felix*, pp. 129-30.

<sup>36</sup> Clark (ed.) *The Journals of George Augustus Robinson*, vol. 4, p. 39.

crossing place had to be found, the dray unloaded and the provisions swum across or sometime carried in bark canoes constructed by the Aborigines. (Such crossings must have been particularly arduous for Robinson who was the only one of the party who could not swim.) The livestock then had to be persuaded to cross, and finally the dray half dragged, half floated with the assistance of wooden slips. When a river was very deep they had to wait for low tide, and then for high tide if the dray got stuck in the river bed. Often the difficulty with crossing was not the size of the watercourse but the steepness of the banks. Though the party reached the Tarwin River on 29 April it took them three days to make the crossing.

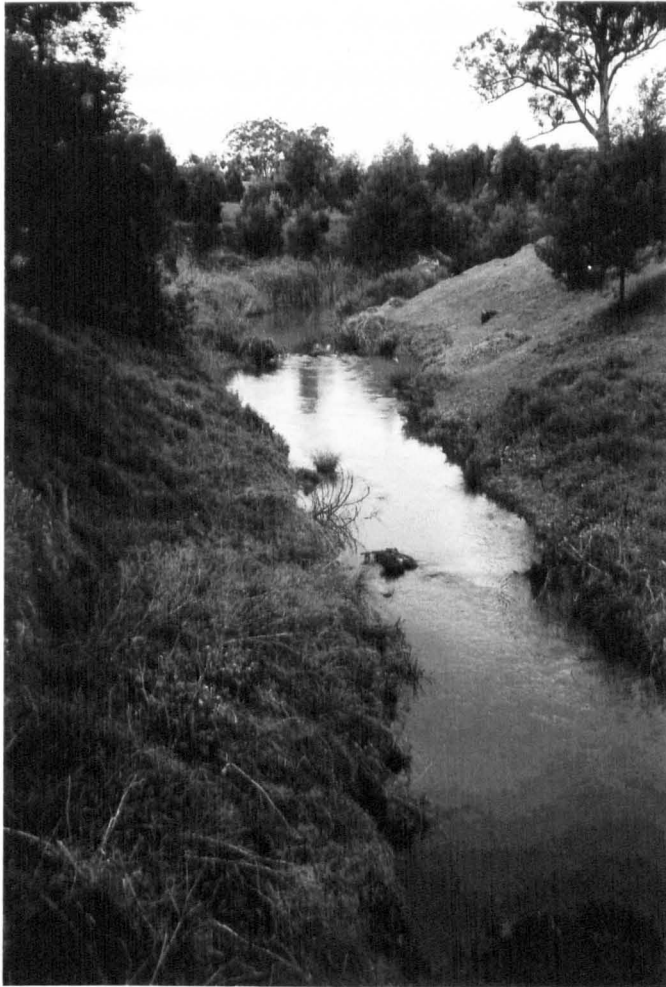


Figure 3.10 Tarwin River, K. Haydon, photograph, 2003.

In parts the land was swampy, had little grazing for the animals and poor hunting for the men. Even on more open plains the wiry grass was difficult to traverse and no good as feed for the horses or cattle. Haydon describes passing through gullies of beautiful giant ferns (up to forty feet high) with vast fronds, and another particularly attractive area

covered in a lovely species of white moss, but most of the time the going was hard and often wet.<sup>37</sup> It was to take the party almost five weeks to cover a distance of only one hundred and forty miles.

As supplies ran short the party became increasingly reliant on the Aborigines to find food and by 15 April things were becoming desperate. It was decided that Robinson, Mooney and Ballagera would go on ahead the following day in search of help. Total disaster almost struck when, just before they left camp, a violent storm blew up and sent a tree crashing onto one of the tents which just moments before had been occupied by four men. After Robinson's departure the rest of the party were left to follow as best they could as they were by then very weak. A few scrapings from the empty flour bags provided just enough to allow a thin paste known as 'skillagalee' to be made. Koala and 'pheasant'<sup>38</sup> became the main foods and ultimately, when faced with starvation, a bullock named Darling was killed and eaten. It was an act of desperation that Haydon dealt with in his usual good humour noting: 'Stayed my appetite by swallowing a small portion of roasted hide. Begin to see now the philosophy of a man eating his shoes.'(J5, 19 May 1844) However, a glut of stringy beef on an empty stomach proved to be a mistake and the party suffered some 'unpleasant symptoms'. (AF, p. 147) In reality, the party was probably only about twenty-five miles from the township of Alberton, a distance that could be covered on foot in a day or two by a fit man.

Not far behind the government party was a group of pastoralists attempting to drive cattle through to Gippsland. This party consisted of Edward Hobson, William Bennet, his wife Lavinia (sister of William Brodribb) and their five children. The party had two drays, and one of the bullock drivers was also accompanied by his wife and child.<sup>39</sup> They followed Robinson's tracks to Western Port and thereafter were just a few days behind the government dray sometimes following their path sometimes deviating from it, though why they did so is not clear as the path they chose seemed to be even less promising than Robinson's. At one point Bennet records having to wade for a mile up to her knees in water carrying one of the children.<sup>40</sup> This party crossed the Tarwin River lower down than the government party at a point where it was much wider. So

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<sup>37</sup> Haydon, *Australia Felix*, p. 138.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 131. Haydon used pheasant to mean Lyrebird - *menura superba*.

<sup>39</sup> Clark (ed.) *The Journals of George Augustus Robinson*, vol. 4, p. 34.

<sup>40</sup> Lavinia Hassel Bennet, 'An Account of a Journey to Gipps Land', in W. A. Brodribb, *Recollections of an Australian Squatter* (Melbourne, 1976), p. 185. The 1976 edition of Bennet's account has been illustrated with the pictures from Haydon's *Australia Felix*.



arduous was their journey that over a hundred head of cattle were lost, some eaten by sharks. Also faced with a shortage of food Mr Hobson, on 23 May, moved in advance of his own party and overtook the beleaguered government party. Robinson had reached the township of Victoria on 19 May and the following day Commissioner Tyers dispatched a relief party of Henry Marley and Frances Brodribb, accompanied by Mooney as guide, at a daily rate of 5s for each man and horse.<sup>41</sup>

The relief party found Haydon and the others on 21 May and the government dray finally managed to make it through to Victoria on Saturday, 25 May. That Robinson wrote of Hobson: 'He is evidently in anger about the dray getting in before him'<sup>42</sup> suggests Robinson was fully cognizant of the explorer's need to be first and that exploration often involved a race for that honour. Robinson immediately told Tyers of the hardships encountered and Tyers lost no time in reporting to La Trobe the success of the party with the caveat that the road would be impassable during the winter, at least without a ferry across the Tarwin.<sup>43</sup>

### **The Gippsland journals**

Both Haydon and Robinson left at least two accounts of the journey to Gippsland. Haydon's first account is in the form of a small journal kept as he travelled. It is interesting to note that this journal was written separately from his main journal. (The main journal was lost in Gippsland and will be returned to later.) This suggests that he saw the expedition as a distinct episode and one which, in a way reminiscent of the voyage out, needed to be recorded separately. The entries are brief, sometimes only recording the weather and distance travelled. However, as camp artist Haydon would have spent what little daylight remained once camp had been made for the night in producing sketches and maps for Robinson probably along the lines of figure 3.11 below.

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<sup>41</sup> Clark (ed.), *The Journals of George Augustus Robinson*, vol. 4, p. 57; Cuthill, 'The Gippsland Road 1836-1838), p. 19.

<sup>42</sup> Clark (ed.), vol. 4, p. 63.

<sup>43</sup> Cuthill, p. 19.

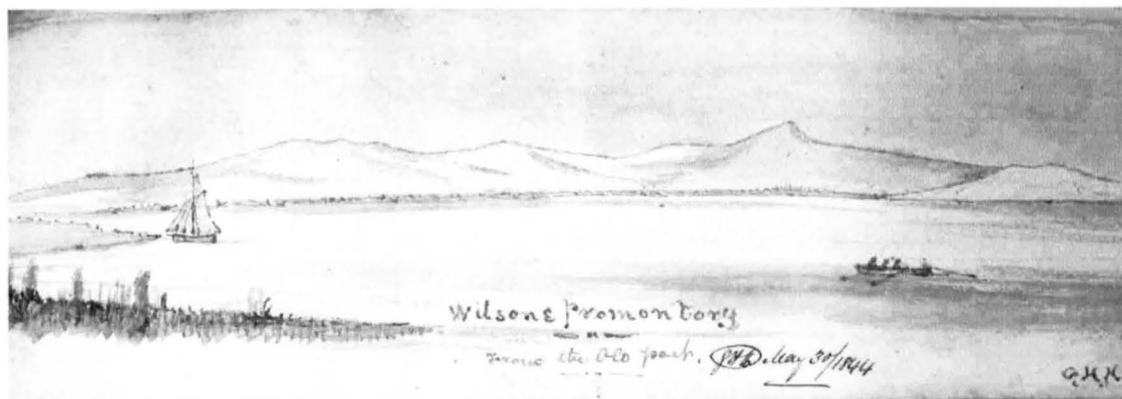


Figure 3.11 'Wilsons Promontory' from the Old Port' 1844, 21 x 7, HC.

Once back in England Haydon worked his brief journal into a longer and more colourful account which appeared in his book *Five Years' Experience in Australia Felix* (1846). This was, of course, a retrospective account written when the journey's outcome was known, and the reason for recording it changed.<sup>44</sup> Indeed, as Carter points out (and will later be seen) in respect of these reworked narratives: 'the writer's chief ambition was not to record history but to *make* it – to establish his own historical significance'.<sup>45</sup>

Robinson also kept a contemporaneous journal which was far more detailed than Haydon's and from which he produced a subsequent condensed version of the journey as an official report for Tyers.<sup>46</sup> Once the party had arrived at Victoria Robinson noted that Haydon intended sending his journal to Tyers. This may be another reason why the account had been kept separate from the main journal although the fact that it remained in Haydon's possession makes it seem unlikely that he ever gave it to Tyers. (Nor would its contents have been particularly useful.) No doubt Robinson feared Haydon's journal would be disparaging of him, as indeed it was. Moreover, it would not have been the first time that someone had bypassed Robinson to report directly to a higher authority.<sup>47</sup>

Personalities and relationships were fundamental to the success or failure of any bush expedition. In the case of the government party there was an immediate problem between Sergeant-Major Windridge, who felt he and his men were under the orders of Captain Dana, Commander of the Native Police Corps, and Robinson, who felt he was

<sup>44</sup> In this version Haydon was happy to give his readers the impression that he was with the party from the commencement of the journey in Melbourne.

<sup>45</sup> Paul Carter, *Living in a New Country: History, Travelling and Language* (London, 1992), p. 10.

<sup>46</sup> George Mackaness (ed.), *George Augustus Robinson's Journey into South-Eastern Australia, 1844 with George Henry Haydon's Narrative of Part of the Same Journey* (Dubbo, NSW, 1978), pp. 5-34.

<sup>47</sup> Rae-Ellis, *Black Robinson*, p. 143. On Flinders Island the clergyman Thomas Dove refused to accept Robinson's authority preferring to report directly to the Colonial Secretary.

in overall charge.<sup>48</sup> Although an experienced, enthusiastic and often courageous traveller Robinson did not have a talent for leadership. All the members of the party, whether Aboriginal or European, ex-convict or free men, appear to have been reluctant to take orders from him. One might have expected Haydon and Robinson to be united by their sympathetic attitude toward the Aborigines and by their enthusiasm for bush life but this was not the case. That there was a good deal of personal animosity between Robinson and Haydon is clear from the journals of both men. Robinson complained that Haydon was insubordinate, lazy and cowardly. In turn Haydon felt Robinson, apart from being ineffectual in his attempts to protect the Aborigines, deserted the expedition at the first sign of trouble, taking with him a disproportionate amount of food. In view of Robinson's dislike of travelling with any white companion one wonders why he ever asked Haydon to join him. Presumably it was for Haydon's value as expedition artist, for Robinson's own artistic ability was very limited.

One way of disguising these fractures within a group was simply by suppressing the existence of the other group members, a device employed in Robinson's official account. For example he wrote:

On the 11<sup>th</sup> [May] I arrived at Lung Lung Praren...Finding several miles of wooded Country before me, and but one old axe remaining, and being destitute of all supplies, I resolved on the 16<sup>th</sup> when within thirty miles of Port Albert to proceed, and accompanied by two natives (mounted) arrived at Port Albert on the 19<sup>th</sup> when immediate arrangements were made by Mr Tyers for sending off supplies.<sup>49</sup>

The use of the first person was a generic convention of explorers' journals which provided a central authoritative voice that assured the reader of the accuracy of the account.<sup>50</sup> Certainly in the above extract it is the use of this authoritative 'I' which gives the impression that Robinson alone is making the journey, facing and overcoming the inhospitable terrain single-handed. Haydon's account is quite different:

On Saturday, the 11<sup>th</sup>, after journeying about a mile, we came upon a river scrub, and penetrating it, found a large stream about thirty yards across...the natives called it Lang Lang Berin... [Wed 15<sup>th</sup>] After a heavy night's rain, a council was held, and Mr Robinson, who, bye the bye, notwithstanding all the privations already gone through had by no means fallen off in his naturally corpulent

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<sup>48</sup> It would seem that Ballagera and Mooney were specially assigned to Robinson as they continued on with him past Port Albert and he always refers to them as 'my' natives.

<sup>49</sup> Mackaness (ed.), *George Augustus Robinson's Journey into South-Eastern Australia*, p. 75.

<sup>50</sup> Ryan, *the Cartographic Eye*, pp. 45-7.

figure, determined to proceed with two policemen, Mooney and Ballagera, in search of the settlement in Gipp's Land and immediately on arrival there, to forward supplies to our present camp...(AF, p. 122)

The use of the plural 'we' gives a wholly different perspective. This was a group activity where a 'council' was held, and the facing of adversity was a shared experience which included the native police. (Interestingly, Haydon names the native police in his formal account whilst Robinson does not.) Ryan suggests that the 'monocentric' approach of the explorer, as displayed by Robinson, is, in part, a result of the class dynamics of the exploration party. The leader would usually be from a relatively privileged background, whereas the 'men' were convicts or labourers, and below them were the Aborigines. Such a situation enabled the explorer to 'position himself as superior in knowledge and judgement to the party'.<sup>51</sup> This may explain Robinson's reluctance to acknowledge Haydon's presence as, in the strict pecking order of Victorian class structure, Haydon was higher up the scale than the non-conformist Robinson who had started life as a bricklayer. That Haydon was an architect was perhaps a comparison too close for comfort for Robinson. In the official report made by Robinson, Haydon is completely absent, and it is interesting to note that when Commissioner Tyers reported back to La Trobe that he had sent relief to the stranded party, he refers to aid for the remaining 'four' white men when, including Haydon, there must have been five.<sup>52</sup> Haydon was simply airbrushed out of the story, something that Rae-Ellis notes as typical of Robinson's manipulation of events to claim the greater glory for himself.<sup>53</sup>

That Lavinia Bennet has left a record of almost the same journey as Robinson and Haydon, describing exactly the same hardships as well as the explorer's wonder at travelling 'over a country never before visited by civilized man',<sup>54</sup> both highlights and undermines another important convention of the discourse of exploration: it was exclusively a masculine occupation. Haydon later recounted with amusement an occasion on the journey when he crossed a river by sliding over a fallen tree. He recalled: 'by the time I arrived I found myself in the unfortunate position of having lost the best part of one of the legs of my trousers, but I consoled myself with the knowledge that there was no fear of falling in with the fair sex in our present position.'(AF, p. 140)

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<sup>51</sup> Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye*, p. 22.

<sup>52</sup> Charles Tyers, letter to Superintendent La Trobe, 20 May 1847 quoted in Cuthill, p. 19.

<sup>53</sup> Rae-Ellis, *Black Robinson*, p. 238.

<sup>54</sup> Bennet, 'An Account of a Journey to Gippsland', p. 186.

As Robinson was perfectly aware that Hobson's party was not far behind, Haydon must also have known it, yet this did not stop him from denying the possibility of the female presence in the bush.

As Henry Reynolds notes, narratives of exploration formed an important part of Australian historiography at a time when the country lacked a great military past, or significant home-grown heroes.<sup>55</sup> With the need to emphasize stories of white men bravely going where no man had been before, overcoming adversity and making wonderful discoveries, it is easy to see why the role of Aborigines in such ventures would prove problematic, and consequently why the role of the Aborigine in accounts of exploration is often an ambivalent one. They were frequently absent from such accounts partly because they were not regarded as being 'incipient plot makers' who were likely to determine the outcome of the journey.<sup>56</sup> Other reasons for editing out the Aboriginal presence include the risk that acknowledgment of their assistance would undermine the achievement of the exploration party, and any recording of those encountered would undermine the illusion of discovery, not to mention the presumption of *terra nullius*.

Where Aborigines were included in exploration history they had two roles: there was the loyal guide assisting the explorer with the knowledge of the land and bush skills, and there was the 'wild' or 'savage' black who formed a hidden presence and physical threat to explorers which enhanced the heroic nature of their exploits.<sup>57</sup> Certainly both Haydon and Robinson displayed a fear of 'wild' natives. On one occasion Robinson slept away from the camp having had a premonition that it would be attacked, and several times Haydon recorded mistaking a noise in the bush for an imminent onslaught.

The 1840s was a particularly violent period in the frontier conflict of the Gippsland region as pastoral farming placed increasing pressure on relations between Europeans and Aborigines. A number of Aborigines were killed near Port Albert in 1842 and at Warrigal Creek in 1842 in retaliation for the killing of Ronald Macalister.<sup>58</sup> Both Haydon and Robinson would also have been aware of the rumours of a white woman being held captive by Gippsland Aborigines. The source of these rumours was

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<sup>55</sup> Reynolds, 'The Land, the Explorers and the Aborigines', *Historical Studies* 19 (1974), p. 213.

<sup>56</sup> Carter, *Living in a New Country*, p. 11; Reynolds, pp. 215-17. Reynolds notes there are many exceptions to this.

<sup>57</sup> Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye*, p. 22.

<sup>58</sup> Shaw, *A History of Port Phillip District*, p. 133.

Angus McMillan who, when exploring near Corner Inlet in 1843, had come across a native camp littered with items belonging to a European woman. McMillan later claimed to have seen her being led away by an Aboriginal tribe. A number of attempts in 1846 and 1847 to find and rescue the woman were all unsuccessful. Whether myth or reality, this story was a potent evocation of the dangers of the bush.

Although in their journals both Haydon and Robinson display this ambivalent depiction of the Aboriginal, both the helpful guide and threatening presence, a comparison of their journals suggests the reality was more complex, with the Aborigines taking a proactive role in proceedings and most definitely playing a part in determining the outcome. For example, Haydon's journal records that on Wednesday, 15 May, the party ate the last of the bread. Next day Robinson left the camp to push on ahead to Port Albert. The following day the Aborigines remaining with the party went hunting and caught a koala:

On their return they presented us with a hind leg about one pound in weight, keeping the remainder for their own consumption. We were rather inclined to dispute this arrangement but considering that in such a case the blacks might leave us in the lurch to find other food as best we might, we rested satisfied with the share we had already...(AF, p. 145)

Robinson also refers to an occasion where the natives refused to give him any bullen bullen (pheasant), and then gave a leg of koala (which he would have happily eaten) to one of the dogs.<sup>59</sup> This is a clear indication of the power and advantage the Aborigines had over their European companions by virtue of their mastery of food sources. Although Robinson made no comparison himself, he must have felt the contrast with his travels in Van Diemen's Land in the company of a group of Aborigines who took great care of him.<sup>60</sup>

The Aborigines travelling with the Government party were stationed at the Native Police headquarters at Narre Narre Warren and were of the Woi wurrung and Bun wurrung clans from Melbourne and Western Port districts.<sup>61</sup> Therefore, they too were explorers in their own right and very conscious that they were trespassing on other tribal territory. Moreover, they were traditionally hostile to the Gippsland Aborigines with whom they did not intermarry. Haydon observed amongst his Aboriginal travelling

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<sup>59</sup> Clark (ed.), *The Journals of George Augustus Robinson*, vol. 4, p. 51.

<sup>60</sup> This group included Trucanini later regarded as the last surviving Tasmanian Aborigine.

<sup>61</sup> Clark (ed.), vol. 4, p. 30.

companions a ceremony called 'annert' where on entering enemy territory they cut boughs and twigs to sleep on. He also recorded that they became very agitated on finding the remains of an old Aboriginal camp and one man told Haydon of the inter-tribal fighting which had denuded their people.

'Look at my people,' he said; 'Where are all my brothers? Do you see any old men? I am the only one?...' He then told me that the berber or wild blacks from Gipps Land had surrounded the tribe one night, and having killed nearly all the men, stole the females and destroyed their children...(AF, p. 152)

In view of the Aboriginal culture of seeking revenge, this sort of story led Haydon (and indeed Robinson) to question the morality of using native police as a force of law and order. Although Haydon appears here to be giving a voice to his Aboriginal companions, Carter warns against any such optimistic reading of Aboriginal speech in explorer's journals claiming that by constructing the dialogue in purely European terms the writer retains control over the Aboriginal presence.<sup>62</sup> Mark McKenna sees this emphasis in European commentary on black-on-black violence as a way of explaining the decline in Aboriginal numbers and lessening the culpability of the European settlers.<sup>63</sup> However, in private Haydon was not reticent about white-on-black violence, writing:

Met with a very intelligent Black fellow today from the Sydney side from whom I heard that the Gipps Land Blacks had been very ill treated by the whites. He said that the Blacks were afraid of the whites and the whites of the blacks and consequently whenever a wild Black was seen he was shot down. This is not fair play said my friend and so say I. If there must be war between the natives and the Whites, let not the latter prove themselves to be the greatest savages of the two parties as they appear to have hitherto been. (J4, 1 September 1844)

Robinson's journal also recorded that on 15 May the flour ran out, that the last of the damper was made, and that he intended to go ahead to Port Albert. Incidentally, this impending crisis, here suggested by the lack of food, is also typical of the narrative convention of the traveller's journal, as it allows for the display of moral or physical courage.<sup>64</sup> On Saturday, 18 May, Robinson recorded being led towards the mountains by the Aborigines accompanying him and, though believing it to be the wrong way, he

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<sup>62</sup> Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye*, pp. 178-80.

<sup>63</sup> Mark McKenna, *Looking for Blackfellas' Point: An Australian History of Place* (Sydney, 2002), pp. 67-8.

<sup>64</sup> Carter, *Living in a New Country*, p. 13.



had to follow for fear of being left without means of getting food. The following day they had to retrace their steps for which Robinson reprimanded the Aborigines telling them they 'were plenty stupid'.<sup>65</sup> Now some discrepancies arise. When Haydon met the rescue party he was told by Mooney that 'they had been three days and a half in getting to Victoria in consequence of Mr Robinson persisting in taking a line of route which led him into the mountain range.' (AF, p. 150) Possibly Robinson was unable to admit a mistake even in his own diary but it seems more likely that Mooney was playing on the tension between the white men whilst emphasising his own part in the heroic endeavours of the exploration process. Haydon certainly had no hesitation in accepting the Aboriginal version of events and used it to disparage Robinson:

It was a most fortunate occurrence for this gentlemen and ourselves that he had natives with him to remedy his error, or it is very probable we should never have heard any thing further of him, or have ever reached the desired land...Ballagera also informed me that Mr Robinson had not forgotten to provide himself with a sufficiency of damper to last him into Gipp's Land, and that he actually had so much as to be enabled to give his horse a share. (AF, pp. 150-1)

Robinson's title of Chief Protector Haydon found particularly apt 'inasmuch as he did certainly protect himself, the *chief*, but at our expense.' (AF, p. 151) One has to wonder whether the giving of damper to the horse was an exaggeration or even fabrication on Ballagera's part to exploit the mistrust between the European members of the party.<sup>66</sup> An indication that the Aborigines also maintained a degree of autonomy from the rest of the party is given when Robinson recorded that he was told by Marley:

The blacks...would not supply them with game. Half a crown had been offered them for a monkey carbora and refused. Mr Marley found the natives a mile or two in advance of the party feasting on pheasants. Seven pheasants were at the fire.<sup>67</sup>

That the party had relied on the Aborigines to provide food is well documented, but the idea that they feasted on plenty whilst the rest starved is either an indication of how little concern the Aborigines had for their European companions, or that Marley was himself guilty of some exaggeration in an attempt to disparage his Aboriginal colleagues. The whole episode also points to just how conscious the various members of the party were of power relations, and as two of the most obvious aspects of power lay

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<sup>65</sup> Clark (ed.), *The Journals of George Augustus Robinson*, vol. 4, p. 56.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54. Robinson did note that he had some stale damper left which he gave to the Aborigines.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62. Carbora means Koala.

in the ability to find food and the right path the Aboriginal members of the group must be seen as significant. It would also appear that mateship had not been an overwhelming feature of the journey.

After a few days spent in and around Port Albert Robinson was to continue on with a journey that would take him to Omco, Cape Howe, Queanbeyan, Yass and back to Melbourne.<sup>68</sup> Haydon was paid his £2 by an order on Turnball & Co, merchant of Alberton. He travelled on with Robinson a little past Merriman's Creek but declined to go further and returned to Port Albert to sit out the winter and consider his future in Australia.

Quite what Haydon did for his £2 is not known as the sketches he produced on the Gippsland journey are sadly those which it has not proved possible to locate. On 22 May 1844, when the expedition had reached Port Albert, Robinson recorded having sent an official report to Superintendent La Trobe and at the same time having sent a letter and sketches home to his wife.<sup>69</sup> Whether Robinson included Haydon's sketches with his report, sent them home to his wife, or retained them with him for the remainder of his journey can not now be known,<sup>70</sup> but the few that were retained by Haydon suggest they included both topographical records (as in figure 3.11 above) and scenes from camp life.

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<sup>68</sup> Rae-Ellis, *Black Robinson*, pp. 240-1. Robinson claimed to have covered 3,540 kilometres on this trip and to have added 8,000 Aboriginal words to his collection, a collection he never published.

<sup>69</sup> Clark (ed.), *The Journals of George Augustus Robinson*, vol. 4, p. 58.

<sup>70</sup> Rae-Ellis, pp. 263-5. When Robinson returned to England in 1852 he brought with him a large quantity of journals, papers and pictures. He did intend to publish from these but had not done so prior to his death in 1866.



Figure 3.12 ‘Gipp Land’ [sic], 21 x 13, HC.

There is a puzzle concerning these Gippsland pictures. The sketch at figure 3.12 was to become a well-known lithograph (figure 3.13) by Alexander Denistoun Lang, squatter, sketcher, and lithographer. Entitled *An Exploration Party Looking for Sheep* it is one of a pair of sketches known as *Scenes in the Bush of Australia by a Squatter* which were printed in London in 1847 in aid of the Famine Relief Fund of the Highlands of Scotland.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Jonathan Wantrup, *Australian Rare Books 1788-1900* (Sydney, 1987), p. 308.



Figure 3.13 A. D. Lang, *An Exploration Party Looking for Sheep*, lithograph, nla.pic-an6016175-v, NLA.



Figure 3.14 A. D. Lang, *The Squatter's First Home*, lithograph, nla.pic-an3902761-v, NLA.

These images are often reproduced as representations of Squatting life, and are considered to form the first colour illustrated books on Port Phillip subjects.<sup>72</sup> However, *An Exploration Party Looking for Sheep* appears to be a version of Haydon's earlier sketch shown at figure 3.12. above. Haydon is the figure on the right in his sketch whilst

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 448.

it is claimed that Lang is the figure in the lithographed version, and the other seated figure is described as an Aboriginal guide (which it clearly is not).<sup>73</sup> Lang occupied a property known as Terrinallum near Mortlake, Port Phillip, between 1839 and 1845. There is no evidence to suggest Haydon ever went to this area, which is some hundred miles west of Melbourne, but it would seem the two men must have met somewhere as Haydon's sketchbook contains a drawing labelled 'Devil's Peak Terrinallum' on which he wrote 'copy from Mr Lang'. Swapping sketches and copying were common practice and notions of copyright were not as they are today, but Haydon tended to make it obvious when he had done this by adding 'copy' or 'from'. It is very unlikely that he would have entitled his sketch Gippsland if it was in fact elsewhere. He was, after all, in Gippsland in 1844 being paid to sketch and therefore had no need to copy material.

The second Lang lithograph, *The Squatter's First Home*, has also, and independently, been linked to Haydon's work. Niel Gunson in his study of Cranbourneshire noted the similarity between Haydon's sketch of Frederick Ruffy (see figure 2.15 above) and the figure in the doorway of the Lang picture.<sup>74</sup> Further doubt as to whether Lang was the creator of both images comes from the fact that *The Squatter's First Home* is initialled on stone by Lang, but *An Exploration Party Looking for Sheep* is not and, according to Joan Kerr, has only been 'assumed' to be by Lang.<sup>75</sup> Certainly the evidence suggests some sort of collaboration or copying was going on between Lang and Haydon.

Evidence also supports the claims that Robinson's party of 1844 was the first to bring a wheeled vehicle through to Gippsland via the southern route, and that they cut a path for others to follow. For Robinson this was just a small leg of a larger journey in a series of journeys for his work with the Aborigines. For Haydon it was one of the many activities he had undertaken in Australia in his attempts to make a living.

It seems remarkable that, with the inclusion of Lavinia Bennet's, five different versions of the journey to Gippsland have survived to this day. Whilst they all show aspects of the generic conventions of the explorer's journal they also, through their comparisons, show ways in which the contents were manipulated to suit the writer's ends.

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<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> Gunson, *The Good Country*, p. 68.

<sup>75</sup> J. Kerr (ed.), *Dictionary of Australian Artists*, p. 448.

### Jack of all trades

Haydon decided to stay on in Gippsland until the rainy season and lodged with E.T. Newton.<sup>76</sup> Immediately upon arrival in the township of Victoria he had applied for a position as Superintendent to Crown Commissioner Tyers. There is no record of what, if any, response was received but, like the application to Surveyor Foot, it suggests Haydon saw service to the colony as a potential career. Next, Haydon took a walk to Glengarry and beyond where he admired a large plain with fine grass and concluded 'there is no probability of any unoccupied country in this quarter'. (J4, 6 June 1844) It seems inconceivable that at this stage Haydon was thinking of squatting. On 30 June he applied for a position with a Captain Moore, probably working on the cutters that traded between Gippsland and Melbourne, but the vacancy had already been filled. Haydon did odd jobs to pass the time, making sketches for a few shillings and helping local squatters. He felt it was a strange life:

The axe and the pencil are very seldom found wielded by the same individual's hand, nevertheless, for the last two days I have been knocking over trees with about the same facility as I had formerly been "submitting them to paper". (J4, 6 June 1844)

Whilst kicking his heels around Port Albert Haydon often recorded which ships came into port. On 6 June he noted:

Arrived the *Augustus* for PW Welsh's bark. How comes it that parties becoming bankrupt in 1842 and paying 2/6 in the pound are enabled in 1844 to engage in extensive bark speculation. Lost £40 by Welsh. (J4, 7 August 1844)<sup>77</sup>

Herein may lie the answer to what happened to the money from the sale of the land at Merri Creek. It may have been lost in some kind of stock speculation. The development of commerce and influx of capital prior to the recession had led to the introduction of joint stock companies. Patricus W. Welsh became a prominent figure within the Melbourne business community; he was a director of the United Joint Stock Auction Company, the Port Phillip Steam Navigation Company, the Melbourne Fire & Marine Insurance Company, and the Port Phillip Bank. The latter two both collapsed during the depression.<sup>78</sup> In fact, Haydon was particularly unlucky to have entrusted any money to

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<sup>76</sup> E. T. Newton was married to Eliza Martin, sister of Haydon's friends, the Martin brothers of Brighton.

<sup>77</sup> George Cox, *Notes on Gippsland History: Volume IV Gippsland in the 1840's*, (ed.) John D. Adams (Yarram, Vic., 1997), p. 30. Bark was a commodity that was exported out of Gippsland.

<sup>78</sup> Martin Sullivan, *Men and Women of Port Phillip* (Sydney, 1985), pp. 57-67.



Welsh. As executor of John Batman's estate, Welsh had, when the depression struck, misappropriated funds for his own purposes.<sup>79</sup> In September 1842 Welsh had called a meeting of his creditors and agreed to settle his debts at 8s in the £1. However, he was subsequently investigated for fraud and although he avoided prison on a technicality the level of his debts proved to be substantially higher than previously thought. In July 1843 (only a month after Haydon's journal entry) Welsh was only able to pay a farthing in the £1.<sup>80</sup>

Haydon was also frustrated to see those around him who did have capital squandering it on drink. He considered Gippsland to be a place up-and-coming and commented on the fact that he witnessed people drinking champagne out of buckets. 'This is no fiction', he wrote, 'Gipps Land society is now very similar to what it was in Melbourne "a long time ago."' (J4, 6 September 1844) That a period of only four or five years could provoke such a feeling of nostalgia emphasizes Melbourne's then brief history.

Still keen to play the architect Haydon was commissioned by Mr Neilson to draw up plans for a public house in the township of Tarra.<sup>81</sup> He recorded having made three plans for the sum of one pound: 'Oh Architecture how thou art fallen!' (J4, 5 September 1844) Neilson built The Royal Hotel Tarraville probably in 1844. It is not clear whether Haydon knew then that his hotel was built, but it seems no coincidence that in his later description of Tarraville (a township just south of present-day Yarrum) the only building he described was 'a good inn, built of brick and well finished'. (AF, p. 38) When Neilson applied for a licence in 1850 the hotel had four sitting-rooms and six bedrooms. By 1861 this had increased to twenty-four rooms.<sup>82</sup> Although the original building has long since gone, its footprint can still be seen today.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> John Batman, one of Melbourne's founding fathers, died in 1839.

<sup>80</sup> Cannon, *Old Melbourne Town*, p. 61.

<sup>81</sup> A. J. Hopton, 'Rural Port Phillip, 1834 to 1851', *Royal Australian Historical Society Journal*, 36.4 (1950), p. 353. Neilson's Royal was already a hotel at Port Albert.

<sup>82</sup> *Touring Around Tarraville with the Yarram and District Historical Society* (Yarram, Victoria, 2000), pp. 4-5.

<sup>83</sup> I am indebted to Wayne Caldow, present-day owner of the premises of the Royal Hotel, for this information.

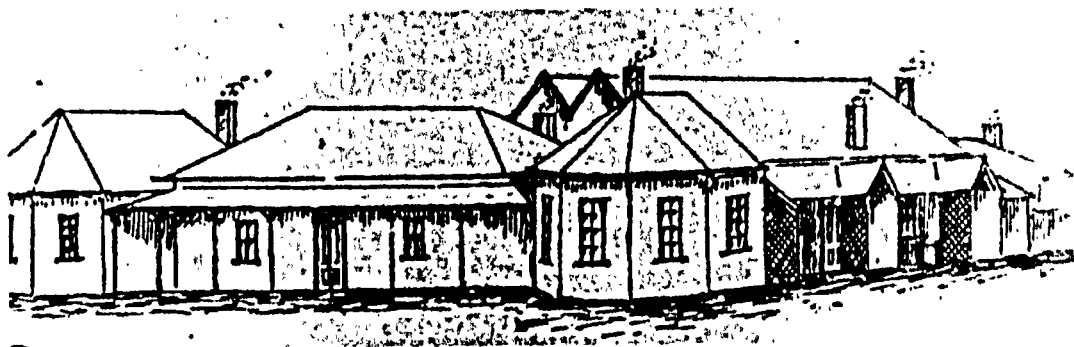


Figure 3.15 J. B. Henderson, The Royal Hotel Tarraville.<sup>84</sup>

Haydon also drew up plans for a bridge over the Tarra for which, as the builder did not get the job, he was not paid. Architecture was still not profitable and Haydon was having to turn his hand to anything and everything:

Let me see! What have been my acquirements for the past four years? I can do all kinds of bush work in the carpentering way. I can drive bullocks, paint a house, wash, mend, and tailor, cobble shoes, reap, grub trees, fences etc. etc. etc. Verily a very pretty stock of knowledge to enter an English drawing room with. (J4, 30 August 1844)

But entering an English drawing-room was now clearly on his mind and in a letter dated 21 July 1844 Haydon wrote to his father for permission to return home.

If there is nothing that turns up in the next twelve months I have made up my mind (with your concurrence) to pay England a visit. I consider no time would be better than the present season of difficulties. I think that with my knowledge of the colony my time might be usefully employed in England for the short time I should remain.<sup>85</sup>

The barilla venture and the Gippsland exploration brought Haydon into contact with a frontier in all its rawness. Sometimes lacking food, water and shelter; encountering uncongenial travelling companions and unpredictable natives; traversing a landscape often inhospitable but frequently very stunning - this to Haydon was truly 'a land of contraries, a country of wonders'. (EL, p. 16) Of all his accounts of his time in Port Phillip, there is not one example that he ever felt alienated from the land or its peoples (barring Robinson). Despite this Haydon had been able neither to settle physically nor prosper financially; it was time to go home.

<sup>84</sup>Reproduced from John D. Adams, *From These Beginnings: History of the Shire of Alberton* (Yarram, Victoria, 1991), p. 36.

<sup>85</sup> George Henry Haydon, letter to Samuel and Catharine Haydon, 21 July 1844, HC.

French Island and Gippsland were experiences that defined Australia for Haydon much more so than his first couple of years spent in Melbourne town. As will be seen, they would be reshaped and revisited in Haydon's imagination for the rest of his life.

## Chapter 4: 'Completion of a Voyage Round the World'



Figure 4.1 'Log kept on Board the old Abberton from Port Phillip to London', title page of *Abberton journal*, 18 x 11, HC.



Had the economy of Port Phillip been healthier Haydon's future may have taken a very different course. Although there was clearly much about life in Australia that appealed to Haydon, and never more than when he was about to leave it, he was to join the ranks of those who went back or, as Haydon may have seen it, those who went on.

### **Farewell Australia Felix**

Making the decision to return to England was one thing, putting it into practice was another. Haydon was delighted when in September 1844, still at a loose end, some friends arrived at Port Albert on the *Sea Otter* and invited him to go swanning when the next season started. In the meantime, he expressed a wish to visit Rabbit Island off Wilson's Promontory and the party set out into Bass Strait. Due to a strong tide they were forced to land at Ninety Mile Beach where the steamship *Clonmel* had gone ashore. Forced to wait some time for rescue the passengers had built huts which Haydon drew.

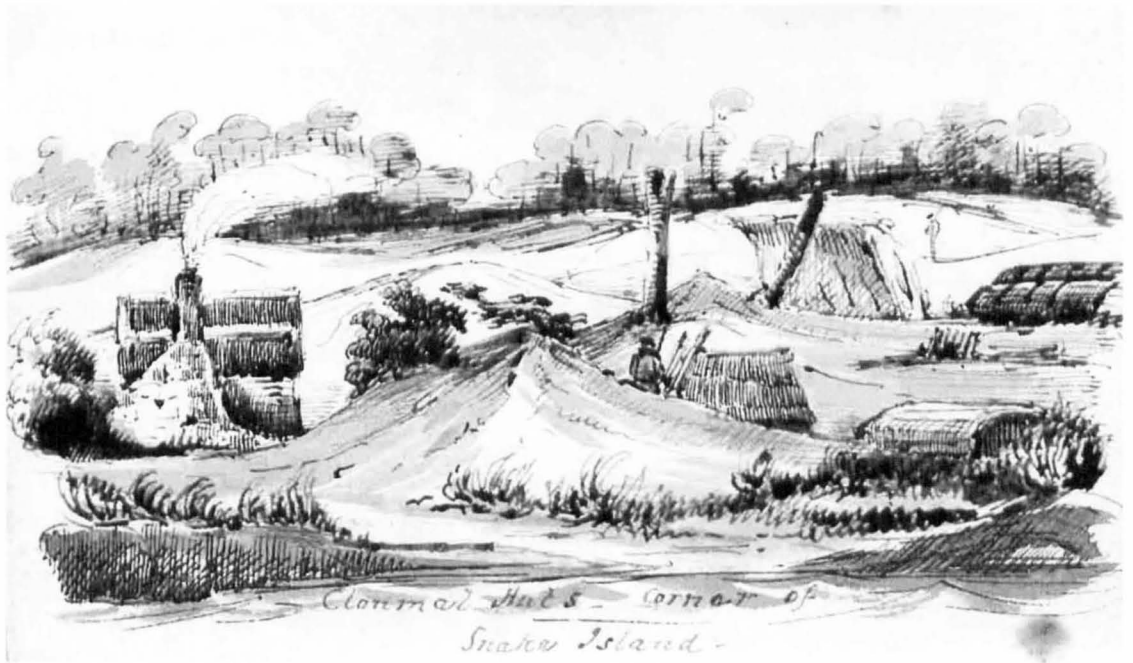


Figure 4.2 'Clonmel Huts - Corner of Snake Island', 15 x 10, HC.<sup>1</sup>

A few days later the *Sea Otter* made it to Rabbit Island so named because Captain Wishart had introduced rabbits there in 1839. Shortly after this the captain was eaten by

<sup>1</sup> It is not clear why Haydon refers to this as Snake Island.

a shark whilst trying to save his colleague Olav Pedersen. Haydon sketched the grave on Rabbit Island.<sup>2</sup>



Figure 4.3 'Wishart's Grave', HC.

Haydon returned to Melbourne on the cutter *Lucy* to prepare for his swanning expedition and on 5 December 1844 set off with friends Willy Ker and Robert Curle in a boat named *The Wave*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Haydon, *Australia Felix*, p. 51; Cox, vol. 3, pp. 15-16. Cox gives an account of Wishart's death which says his body was recovered and taken to his relatives who had him buried elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> Ker is William Ker, the stationer from Melbourne. There is no record of who Robert Curle was. It would appear that *The Wave* did not sail out of Port Phillip Bay but was taken overland across the Mornington Peninsula to Western Port.





Figure 4.4 *The Wave*, 13 x 14, HC.

He returned with them to French Island to camp and was pleased to find Ventilation Hut was now home to a pair of nesting swallows. Haydon's mood suggests he was demob happy and intent on making the best of what little time remained. Christmas Day found the swanners on Barilla Island (a small island in Western Port Bay) celebrating with a 'figgy duff' pudding. This was clearly a hugely enjoyable period for Haydon as the party set about catching swans, shooting rabbits, and best of all fishing:

Caught two large sharks one 8 feet 6 ins long...One of our party could put his leg up to the thigh in the tiger shark's mouth, but he took care the head was cut off first. (J6, 15 December 1844)

The shark's liver obligingly gave up six bottles of oil.

The swanning party broke up as, much to Haydon's annoyance, Curle was keen to return to Melbourne to enter *The Wave* in the New Year's Day Port Phillip Regatta. The start of 1845 was notable for the presence of a large comet visible in the night sky, and temperatures of over 110 degrees in the shade.

Haydon had by now received authority to draw on funds from England for his fare home. With the help of J. B. Were he arranged passage on the *Abberton* barque and set sail for England on 14 January 1845, declaring he had: 'a clear conscience and not £5000 in [his] pocket'. (J6, 14 January 1845) In later life, when lecturing on his time in Australia, Haydon would produce with a flourish the single copper coin that remained in his possession when he reached home.<sup>4</sup>

Haydon's Australian career was not a financial success. As an economic migrant he had been extremely unlucky that his arrival in the colony coincided with the onset of an economic recession. With the same bad timing he decided to leave just as the economy was improving. But other factors had played their part in shaping Haydon's experience. Though not without talent, Haydon was not talented enough to succeed without sufficient capital. He also occupied a difficult social position neither, as Arden suggested, high enough nor low enough to fit in comfortably. Although, albeit unwittingly, Haydon did take Arden's advice and become a labourer, he knew that could not be his long-term future. His gentlemanly sensibilities would not allow it. He would later give his own advice on the subject to intending emigrants:

I can say I have seen men of good family and college education who before leaving England had scarcely ever been out of the atmosphere of refinement, driving a plough, dressing their sheep, and doing other offices which at home they would have regarded as most degrading; and these are the only men of that stamp that can prosper. If a man has determined on the life of a refined gentleman, if he fears to soil his hands by using an axe or doing any hard work, or if he cannot submit occasionally to act the part of his own servant, let him be assured that overland journeys would not suit him, and the colonial life would be one of misery. (AF, p. 156)

There is no doubt that Haydon had enjoyed the freedom and camaraderie of bush life, but as a young man without responsibilities he saw this as an adventure, not a permanent way of life. Whilst still on French Island Haydon had posed himself a question which went to the very heart of his predicament as an emigrant:

Qy- Which life would be preferable. That of a half-starved British artist or a full fed Australian backwoodsman? Ans - Don't know. (J3, 7 April 1844)

Should Haydon follow his own professional inclinations or submit to the forces of the colonial labour market? He claimed not to know the answer to this, but if a career in the

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<sup>4</sup> BL, p. 13.

'fine arts' remained Haydon's real ambition then the Port Phillip of the 1840s could not be the place for him.

### Homeward bound: Recording return

When the *Abberton* departed Melbourne she was carrying ten cabin passengers and thirteen in steerage, together with 1,572 lbs of wool and hides.<sup>5</sup> Haydon did not record his class of passenger but as his fare was only £29 it is likely that he was one of those in steerage. At only 450 tons the *Abberton* was even smaller than the *Theresa* and, although Haydon made no comment, she was again one of Mr Marshall's ships.

The sub-title of Haydon's journal for the homeward voyage was 'Log kept during the completion of a voyage around the world in the *Abberton Barque*'. This was not merely a romantic embellishment but a recognition that ships reliant only on sail power were usually forced to follow the prevailing winds and keep travelling east, so homeward journeys often went via South America and round the notoriously rough Cape Horn. At no point does Haydon refer to his return as a sign of failure and indeed he may not have thought of it as such, but one wonders how much his ability to see the journey home as a continuation, a forward movement, a completion of a full circle, mitigated any negative sense of retreat.

Despite the fact that Haydon was not unusual in returning, accounts of return journeys are significantly rarer than outward ones probably because returning passengers were less likely to be motivated to keep a journal. Also, by their nature, they have been valued less as historical documents. It is, therefore, harder to make generalizations in the way that it was possible for the account of the journey out.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, it does seem logical to assume the atmosphere on a homeward-bound ship would be significantly different. It was not likely (unless one had been born in the colonies) to represent a life-changing experience, a fact exemplified by the lack of any ceremony when the equator is re-crossed. There would be an absence of novelty as to shipboard life, and the anxiety of going toward the unknown must have been replaced by the pleasurable anticipation of reaching home.

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<sup>5</sup> Florence Chuk, *The Somerset Years: Government-Assisted Emigrants from Somerset and Bristol who Arrived in Port Phillip/Victoria, 1839-1854* (Ballarat, 1987), p. 74.

<sup>6</sup> Andrew Hassam has located a number of accounts of the journey to England from Australia although not all in the form of journals. With the exception of three, they are all post 1850 and some are accounts made by Australian-born making the journey to England. I am indebted to Andrew Hassam him for letting me see his list of sources.

Haydon's homeward-bound journal is similar to the outward-bound one in size and length, and also in that it is illustrated; thereafter it becomes very different. One of the most obvious differences is that Haydon now had two points of reference with which to frame his journal. He knows the country he has just left, and he knows the one to which he is returning. Hence remarks such as 'I don't know how an English winter will agree with me' (*AJ*, 8 February 1845) are naturally mixed with 'wet decks, wet beds and no gum trees to fly to for shelter'. (*AJ*, 18 February 1845). When Haydon sights the Falkland Islands he 'longed to spend a few hours in its bush' (*AJ*, 29 February 1845); when Haydon re-crosses the equator he is 'pleased to be on [his] own side of the world again'. (*AJ*, 25 April 1845)

Glaringly absent from this journal when compared to the first are the complaints, and criticism of others. Haydon was, of course, five years older and had experienced some considerable hardships during his time in Australia which are reflected in comments such as:

Went aboard the *Abberton* and found the accommodation very so so, but a bushman must never grumble whilst he has grub. (*AJ*, 15 January 1845)

Tasted the porpoise and found it very fair food, such as many times in the course of my wanderings I would not have sneezed at. (*AJ*, 7 February 1845)

No reference is made as to whether Sunday Service was observed on the return journey, and Haydon seems to have adopted a bushman's stoicism and the valuing of things other than social proprieties, conventions and manners.

That emigrant journals were written for a particular audience was discussed in Chapter 1. Although Haydon presumably anticipated arriving home at the same time as his journal an audience is, again, clearly discernible. It has been noted that in the outbound journal Haydon sought to present himself as unchanged. Now Haydon wished to emphasise his new bushman persona, no doubt for a romantic and worldly effect.

A mature and mellower Haydon can also be seen in a comparison of the following extracts. During both voyages a baby was born but the tone in which the event was recorded is very different:

Woman "kidded" last night about 11 o'clock. The cabin known by the name of 'the hospital' being situated very near our cabin, the squalling of the babe is not over and above pleasant. (*TJ*, 21 June 1840)

I forgot to mention yesterday the arrival on board of a new passenger; our Doctor doing the honours on this occasion. It turned out to be a fine little girl. Mr Cuthbert a passenger claims it as his own - no one is disposed to dispute his title to it. Mother and daughter doing well today. (*AJ*, 9 May 1845)

Another direct comparison can be made between the accounts of a death (see page 39 above). On the first occasion Haydon was surprised that death made so little impact on his fellow travellers; on the second occasion he was surprised by his own reaction:

A sad disaster occurred at 5 bells morning watch. Whilst a seaman by name Gilbert Taylor was employed in securing the starboard quarter boat a heavy sea struck the vessel on her poop and carried the boat and the unfortunate man away. The man was only seen once about the ship's length astern with his face towards the ship, and both arms out of water... Poor Taylor had been seen for the last time on earth... I was surprised with myself that I was not more moved at the time of the accident than I was. It was not that I did not feel for the poor fellow but I took it too much as a matter of course. (*AJ*, 2 February 1845)

As on the outward voyage Haydon continued with descriptions of the direction of the wind and ship's position, but now a seasoned sailor the description of the ship's progress is far more competent. Perhaps he had an eye to impressing his seafaring father. On the *Theresa* Haydon had acknowledged 'some of my attempts at sea phrases will sound very droll to persons long accustomed to the sea'. (*TJ*, 18 June 1840) In the *Abberton* journal much more competent nautical descriptions were along the lines of:

Morning watch 8 bells a sail reported close under our quarter - tumbled out and lo! running the same course as ourselves there was a full rigged ship under her courses, double reefed topsails, fore staysail and jibs, we being at the same time under double reefed topsails fore sail and staysail. (*AJ*, 26 February 1845)

Haydon counted his blessings that he rounded Cape Horn in the summer which he thought was bad enough, though it was exhilarating to see whales.

The *Theresa* had not stopped at Cape Town on the way out but the *Abberton* called in at Rio de Janeiro. On entering the harbour the crew were not quick enough in responding to the Harbour Master's request for information and a shot (albeit blank) was fired at the ship. The passengers had only a few days to see the sights of Rio and again it is obvious that Haydon uses his dual frames of reference to assess the place. He was generally unimpressed thinking the 'Emperor's Palace' looked like a workhouse and the 'Emperor' himself (really the Governor) 'was a smooth faced boy his appearance indicated nothing above the common stamp of mankind.' (*AJ*, 5 April) Despite the presence of a seventeenth-century church and the opportunity of going to

the opera, Haydon felt a cultural gulf he had not experienced in Australia. Indeed, this was the first time Haydon had any sense of being outside the British Empire and it made him uneasy. He noted that the harbour contained just as many French and American vessels as British ones, and he expressed anxiety at the possibility of hostilities breaking out due to the British continuing their campaign against Brazilian slavery. It was also the first time that he was faced with the fact that the official language was not English and the authorities not British. His indignation at being searched by a Brazilian policeman serves to illustrate Haydon's discomfort at being outside the confines of the British world.

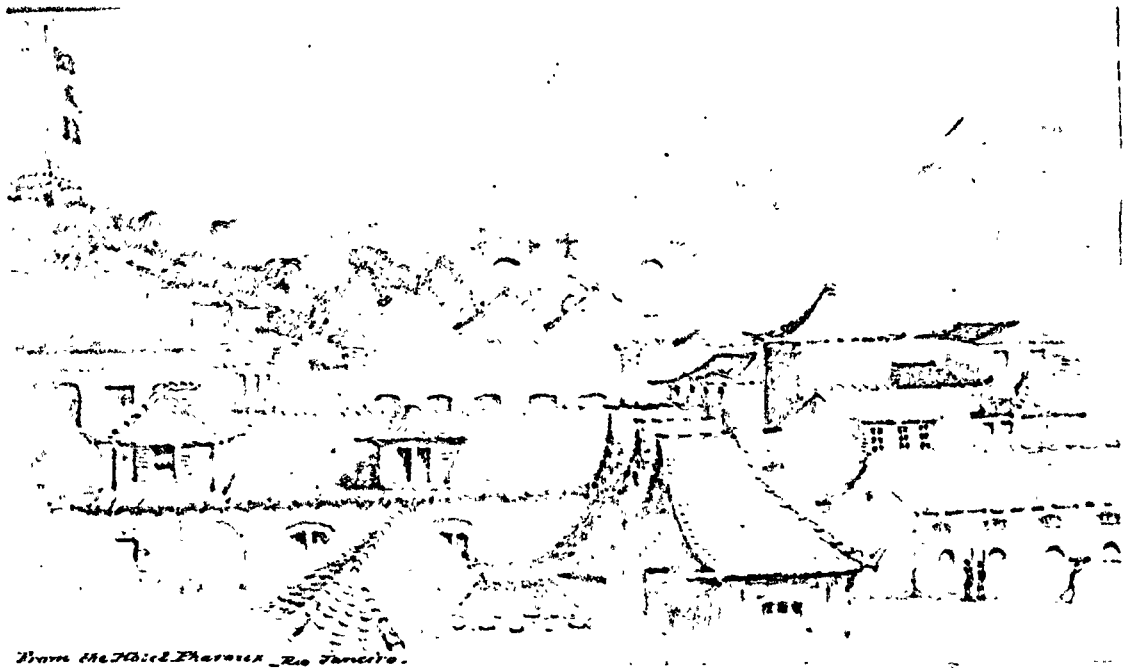


Figure 4.5 'From the Hotel Pharoux, Rio [sic] Janeiro', 19 x 11, HC.

In his assessment of the slave trade, Haydon displayed somewhat mixed influences:

I had heard and read much of slavery but this was the first time I ever was in contact with a slave holding people. I must say one could see but little in a day to judge either for or against. I found the slaves apparently much happier and better treated than I expected. Still it is well known the slavery system leads the way to every enormity and I could not but notice many things which to an Englishman could not fail to create disgust. But it is in the interior of Brazil that slavery appears in its true colours and their treatment there is I understand very bad. How a people professing to be Christians, with the sign of the cross staring them in the face at every step can uphold slavery I know not, but I had almost forgotten it was not many years ago since England herself was one of the greatest slave holding countrys [sic] upon earth. She has prised herself from this enormous sin. May her example be shortly followed by every nation under heaven. The slaves in Rio do all that kind of work which is usually performed by



beasts of burden...They are not allowed to wear shoes and ...their feet are about as hard as the sole of a shoe though not as much so as the Australian natives... (AJ, 4 April 1845)

Despite having the empirical authority of being a traveller and having 'seen' with his own eyes, he disapproved of slavery not from what he saw but from what he heard, and from being a Christian and an Englishman. No doubt too his comments were shaped by being addressed to a father who had been avidly opposed to slavery. Haydon's reference to nationality in this context points to the way in which national identity could be constructed around a cause, in this case anti-slavery. Over and above humanitarian motivations, expressing concern about slave welfare enabled the British to take a superior position to that of slave owning countries in general, and America in particular, as the champions of liberty. The abolitionist cause was such a unifying one because support for it transcended the usual boundaries of religion, gender and class.<sup>7</sup> Haydon could not resist bringing his other point of reference to the discussion as he shows off his knowledge of the Australian native and, apparently, the superior hardness of their feet.

The stop in Rio de Janeiro allowed Haydon to make another comparison with Australia which perhaps suggests his interest in the bushman as a breed, and his appreciation of their distinguishing features.

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<sup>7</sup> Colley, *The Significance of the Frontier in British History*, pp. 354-5.



Figure 4.6 'A Brazilian Backwoodsman', 9 x 15, HC.

The short jacket, spurs and sombrero type hat all differentiate the Brazilian backwoodsman from the Australian bushman (see figures 2.17 & 3.1). That the former is leading a rather comical and bad-tempered looking ass or mule suggests which Haydon had the greater admiration for.

The *Abberton* left Rio for the final leg of the journey home on 8 April 1845. Heading up the east coast of South America she crossed the equator into the North Atlantic encountering plenty of other outward and homeward-bound vessels. She then headed for the Azores and further north to pick up the westerly winds that would take the ship toward the English Channel. Haydon was plagued by toothache during this part of the voyage and after trying various remedies he had the ship's surgeon extract the tooth. He also lost his pet kangaroo rat.



Figure 4.7 'Joey Smith - departed this life off the Western Islands 20<sup>th</sup> May 1845', *AJ*, 8 x 12, HC.

Land was sighted on 27 May and brought not the curiosity and desire to impose a favourable impression that sighting the New World had, but pride and nostalgia:

I saw the first of Old England at 6AM. Start Point being the object of admiration to all on board. "I have seen many homes, but the dwelling is beautiful England the gem of the sea for me". What delightful feelings took possession of my bosom. No place, only England could have called them up. (*AJ*, 27 May 1845)

It must have been especially poignant for Haydon as not only was it England that he saw but his home county of Devon.

Unlike the *Theresa* journal there was an absence of any noteworthy descriptions of his fellow passengers on the homeward journey, and there was certainly no concern for who was and who was not a gentleman. Interestingly though, Haydon did describe the pilot who came on board to guide the ship up the English Channel:

He is a rather strange character a regular one sided man. When he first came he desired the steward to put his things on one side, he carried his head on one side, he likes to keep to the English side of the channel, and swears the vessel is all on one side etc. etc. etc. (*AJ*, 30 May 1845)

Charlwood notes what a significant figure the pilot was to those who had been at sea many months, partly because he was a new face and partly because he represented the first contact with the land to which the ship was travelling.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Charlwood, *The Long Farewell*, p. 243.

Though the voyage was long and tedious, Haydon did not take the opportunity, as most of the other passengers did, of getting ashore at Plymouth. It would, after all, have been only a short journey home to Exeter. Instead, Haydon elected to stay on the ship, though no doubt he sent a letter ashore to forewarn his family of his impending arrival. Possibly he wanted the opportunity of seeing London, or perhaps he needed time back on English soil to shake off the dust of colonial life before presenting himself at home. To avoid the long process of beating up the Thames Haydon left the ship at Dover. His final journal entry is incisive as to the distinction he himself made between ‘emigrant Haydon’ and ‘Englishman Haydon’. He wrote:

And now adieu to the hospitable bush, and to the unbounded sea, to rough boarding and men of the brown forests. I must now get civilized again and forget in the realms of etiquette and of unnatural forms what it is to be natural...(AJ, 31 May 1845)

Haydon’s first action in getting ‘civilized’ was to shave his beard. Ostensibly he said it was because he took umbrage at being mistaken for a Frenchman, but it also suggests a subconscious symbolic transformation as the shaving, or dressing, of hair is often associated with a rite of passage (as was seen with the crossing of the equator). Not only did this present a cleaner, more familiar Haydon to his family but also such a one to himself. Nevertheless, Haydon knew he was changed forever and the above extract continues:

...but nature ‘is nature’ that’s a fact and whenever I see a bit of blue sky and float on salt water I shall not fail to think with pleasure of the other regions besides my own and whilst I love my own country and exert my lungs in her behalf I cannot neglect my adopted one and so here goes – Hurrah for Australia Felix!! (AJ, 31 May 1845)



Figure 4.8 Going ashore, 7 x 6, AJ, HC.

One senses that Haydon's love for his own country had been sharpened by his absence from it.

After disembarking at Dover Haydon spent a few nights in London before proceeding to Exeter via a mode of transport not in existence when he departed England in 1840: the completion of the railway between Paddington and Exeter St David in May 1844 made the journey to Devon possible in just a few hours. Presumably, as his father had paid for the return sea passage, Haydon was welcomed home though whether or not to the fatted calf is unrecorded.

### The 'awkward squad'

The returned emigrant has been a much neglected historic character not least because of difficulties in identification, and yet the importance of these people to colonial intercourse should not be ignored. In the case of Australia it was often those who returned who shaped perceptions of the place for a home audience and, particularly prior to the introduction of responsible government, influenced colonial policies. Historically this group has not been seen as significant because, although potentially large in number, the 'haemorrhaging' of migrants from Australia was never sufficient to cause particular economic or political strain on the colonies.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, it may have been judicious for the colonial authorities to turn a blind eye to what return traffic there was for fear of drawing attention to anything that might suggest a failure of colonisation as an instrument of empire.<sup>10</sup>

The individuals who returned, part of a group which Eric Richards aptly labels the 'awkward squad', are so difficult to identify because even when shown in shipping lists there is no way of telling whether they were holiday makers, people on business, or those being sent 'home' for schooling. It is also impossible to say how they fitted into the more intangible categories which have been variously described as 'retro-migrants', 'repatriants', 'transients', 'transilients', 'double migrants', 'sojourners', 'pensionados', 'back-emigrants', or 'quasi-migrants'.<sup>11</sup> Identification is made still harder as the category into which the traveller fell could change by virtue of either fact or intent.

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<sup>9</sup> Eric Richards, 'Running home from Australia: intercontinental mobility and migrant expectations in the nineteenth century' in Harper (ed.), *Emigrant Homecomings*, p. 80.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 88-9. There was a small amount of repatriation of emigrants paid for by colonial governments, usually for humanitarian reasons.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

To understand Haydon's action of returning it is necessary to look further at what he meant by his initial migration and herein lies a degree of ambiguity. In 1840, shortly after his arrival in Port Phillip (and taking care not to give the impression that he was having too good a time) he had written:

If things go well with me, I expect in about 5 years to be in a position to return once more to home and friends. I assure you I feel very desolate at times in not having some old friend or other to talk with, but I work away with the hope of returning the sooner, the more industrious I am.<sup>12</sup>

The clear indication here is that return was always intended once sufficient financial success was achieved, and yet in the same letter he also wrote:

I have been trying to persuade myself that you should come out here, but I fear that the voyage would ill agree with Mama and the little ones. Besides which, your declining years must be spent in your native land and I pray God often that I may be allowed once more to see and live amongst you again and that I may in some way requite you and dear Mother for your trouble and anxiety which you have ever shown towards me... Concerning your coming out, in the first place you would have to settle your multitudinous affairs at home, which would not be done under much trouble and anxiety. Then concerning the voyage, I am sure Mama would be out of her mind every lurch of the voyage and if there should be rough weather she would not be able to stand it. No, no, you must wander no more but must endeavour to be as comfortable as you can on the means God has given you...<sup>13</sup>

That Haydon even contemplated his parents making the voyage suggests the idea of the whole family removing to Australia had been considered a possibility. Perhaps it had been mooted on the basis that he would go on ahead and see how suitable a proposition it was. It is possible, too, that Samuel Haydon was stimulated by knowledge of old naval colleagues who had benefited from government schemes for paying-off naval and military men. No longer needed after the cessation of the Napoleonic Wars, some such veterans were offered capital to invest in colonial lands in return for their Commissions or the surrender of pension rights.<sup>14</sup> Even if it was not practicable for his parents (his father was then aged sixty-one) and sisters to join him, Haydon thought it might be an option for his nine-year-old brother Edward:

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<sup>12</sup> George Henry Haydon, letter to Samuel Haydon, 26 November 1840, HC.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Jan Kociumbas, *The Oxford History of Australia Volume 2: 1770-1860 Possessions* (Melbourne, 1992), p. 123.



Mr Ned must, as soon as he is a little older, come out to me. A good education and there is no fear of him. He must learn to keep accounts. Never mind Latin. It is useless here. I could take care of him now. God bless you all.<sup>15</sup>

Although Edward did not join Haydon, this extract is indicative of the process of chain migration that occurred when one migrant encouraged other family members or friends to follow. Haydon was himself clearly not the first from his own circle to take the plunge and others were already close behind him:

Mr Dean, too, had been kind to me. I have seen him several times. He has a very good and flourishing business, he is in partnership with Mr. O'Cock from Crediton...The W. Reynolds are keeping a dairy at Maitland. This is quite the country for Mr Wedge. If you were as young as him I would be glad to see you out. He would do well here. I have written to Mr Luke, but I expect that he is by this time on his voyage out. I shall be happy to see him.<sup>16</sup>

Only two letters survive from Haydon's five years in Australia although from father Samuel's meticulous recording of what was sent to, and received from, his son it would appear that Haydon was a regular correspondent writing home on at least twenty-two occasions.<sup>17</sup> At some point talk of return crept into those letters. Such talk, a common feature of migrant communications, was often used as a strategy for dealing with the trauma of separation. The illusion of seeing 'home' again could be maintained long after it ceased to be a realistic prospect. If, as had already been suggested, return for Haydon was always a real possibility he still employed another common migrant reference when he wrote of his proposal for a 'visit'. He also wrote:

There is one thing which I believe I need not mention which is that unless I could visit England with independence my feelings would not allow me to return with all the pleasures there would be in store for me on my return.<sup>18</sup>

In stating his desire for independence Haydon is displaying the sense of pride commonly expressed by the young, single male emigrant.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps his use of the word 'visit' was a subterfuge for the fact that his Australian venture had not, financially at least, been a success.

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<sup>15</sup> George Henry Haydon, letter to Samuel Haydon, 26 November 1840, HC.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> J2, back pages, HC.

<sup>18</sup> George Henry Haydon, letter to Samuel Haydon, 21 July 1844, HC.

<sup>19</sup> Richards, 'Running home from Australia', pp. 96-7. Richards notes that references to the home visit and signs of pride and bravado were all common features of migrant correspondence.

Just as economic factors acted as the impetus for emigrants to leave their homes, this, in reverse appears to have been part of the reason for Haydon's decision to return. Statistical data is insufficient to quantify the correlation between return migration and the economy of the host colony, but figures do show that migration out to the colonies was affected by conditions at the end destination. Officially recorded emigration from Plymouth to the Australian and New Zealand colonies shows departures in 1840 and 1841 as 5,128 and 5,546 respectively. These dropped sharply in the following years to just seventy-nine recorded departures in 1845, the year of Haydon's return.<sup>20</sup> Such figures reflect the fact that assisted emigration was suspended for 1842 and 1843 in response to economic conditions in the colonies. Funding for migrants was dependent on the sale of Crown lands, the revenues from which had dropped.

Economic factors only partially account for Haydon's return. In both the letters quoted from above, one written at the beginning of his stay and one at the end, Haydon expresses feelings of homesickness, always a potent force for return. However, homesickness may have been invoked as a cover for a multitude of motives, and may also appear disproportionately prominent in migrant accounts. Declarations about people and places left behind were both flattering and expected, and enabled the emigrant to emphasize the fact that his new life, however good, had not come without considerable personal sacrifice.<sup>21</sup> No doubt Haydon's homesickness was genuine and it was frequently expressed.

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<sup>20</sup> Mark Brayshay, 'The Emigration Trade in Nineteenth-Century Devon', in Michael Duffy (ed.), *The New Maritime History of Devon Volume II* (London, 1994), p. 109. This data is taken from Table 10.2, the figures for which have been drawn from the *General Reports of the Colonial Land and Emigration Office*.

<sup>21</sup> Alistair Thompson, "'My wayward heart': homesickness, longing and the return of British post-war immigrants from Australia', in Harper (ed.), *Emigrant Homecomings*, pp. 108-112.



Figure 4.9 'A Mental Mirage' 1848, 15 x 9, pen and chalk, HC.

In this sketch Haydon depicts homesickness by the wistful onlooker gazing at the mirage of England separated by a vast ocean, the only link a tiny ship. What is interesting is that this sketch is dated three years after Haydon's return. By its very nature the grieving and longing for home manifested in homesickness should disappear once home is reached. It is, therefore, intriguing as to why this emotion was still exercising Haydon's imagination in 1848; why was he imagining imagining England? Possibly Haydon was longing for the England he originally left and did not find on return; perhaps, too, in his contemplation of a further trip to Australia he was reminded of the homesickness he had felt there. Or, was he now actually feeling homesickness for Australia?

Thoughts of marriage may have been another consideration in the decision to return home as Haydon certainly noted in his Australian journal that in view of the shortage of women in the colonies he would have to come back to find a wife.

Quantifying the levels of return migration is difficult for reasons already identified. Some estimates put the overall return of migrants to their country of origin during the nineteenth century as at least one third and possibly as high as forty per cent.<sup>22</sup> Haydon's category of migrant, the self-financing, are the most difficult to trace in statistics though also the most likely to have the means of return. Richards attempted

<sup>22</sup> Dudley Baines, *Migration in a Mature Economy: Emigration and Internal Migration in England and Wales, 1861-1900* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 28 & 126, cited in Harper, *Emigrant Homecomings*, p. 2.

a quantitative analysis of this group by searching the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* for those individuals recorded as being born in and dying in Great Britain. Of the 1,540 he identified as originating from the British Isles 204 had also died there representing a total of thirteen per cent.<sup>23</sup> This exercise has the obvious limitation that the sample examined is drawn from a particular group who are most likely to be high achievers and to come from the middle and upper classes, and are therefore not representative of the general population of Australia. Nevertheless, as Haydon himself is included in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* it can be considered representative of his peer group. Richards's figures are further supported by Pooley and Turnbull who, in their study of over 16,000 life histories, came up with an average return rate from Australia of eleven per cent between 1840 and 1879.<sup>24</sup>

Having stated that Haydon was not unusual in returning it is harder to say just how typical he was of the profile of the returnee: statistical information is insufficient and anecdotal evidence conflicting. Material success could be a motivation for both staying and returning, although land ownership was more likely to encourage the former. Five thousand pounds seems to have been an oft-quoted amount with which it would be respectable to return (and seems to have been Haydon's goal), and between two and five years the most common period in which to do so.<sup>25</sup> The most identifiable group of migrants are those who were assisted and, although there are surprisingly high numbers of accounts of their returning (and even re-emigrating), this was the group least likely to have either the means or the inclination to return. Being single made it easier to go back as marriage and family both equated to putting down roots, and those married would have required additional funds for the extra passages.

Whether or not typical, Haydon must have been a fairly early returnee from Port Phillip which was then still only ten years old. Prior to the early 1830s the outflow to Australia had been almost entirely made up from convicts, and even here it is estimated that between five and ten per cent returned indicating the sheer strength of the homeward pull.<sup>26</sup> Returning would have become increasingly easy with the introduction

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<sup>23</sup> Richards, 'Running home from Australia', p. 85. This is for the 1851-90 volume of the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Melbourne, 1966).

<sup>24</sup> Colin Pooley and Jean Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain since the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1998), Table 9.5, p. 286.

<sup>25</sup> Richards, 'Running home from Australia', p. 98. Richards notes that £5-6,000 was a common notion of what constituted financial success.

<sup>26</sup> A. G. L. Shaw, *Convicts and Colonies* (London, 1966), pp. 65, 103 & 142-3; S. Nicholas, *Convict Workers: Reinterpreting Australia's Past* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 9 & 58, cited in Richards, p. 83.

of steamships in the 1850s and the reduction in both duration and cost of passage, but identifying returnees remains problematic. Haydon was frustratingly silent about the identity of his fellow passengers on the homeward voyage or the reasons why they were travelling although he does record ‘Mr Kemp’ as being the post-master from Melbourne, as well as a ‘Mr Hale’ and ‘Lang who was an excellent sample of a Bushman’.<sup>27</sup> (*AJ*, 31 May 1845)

Feelings of dislocation and rupture are recognised hazards associated with returning home after a prolonged period away, a predicament so powerfully observed in Henry Handel Richardson’s *The Fortunes of Richard Mahony* where her returnee is unable to feel at home on either side of the world. It is not known how Haydon really coped with readjustment to life in Exeter after an absence of five years. His parents would have aged, and the changes in his siblings must have been particularly marked. Sisters who had been children when he left were now young women; his elder brother had left home for London, and his younger was turning into a troublesome adolescent. Haydon would now have stories to rival his father’s, and despite the inevitable disappointment that he had returned empty-handed it is likely that Haydon saw his return not as a failure but rather as what was valued in itself as ‘an expression of the sheer triumph of mobility’.<sup>28</sup> He was, after all, the son of a naval man for whom return was the natural conclusion to a period of absence.

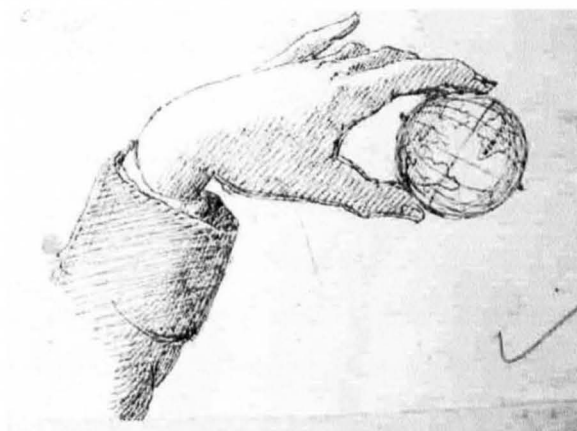


Figure 4.10 Holding the globe, 8 x 6, HC.

This small sketch supports the idea that Haydon saw his travels as a ‘triumph’. With the aid of a magnifying glass it is possible to see that the landmass on the globe, which, by

<sup>27</sup> If this was Alexander Denistoun Lang it might account for the sketches at figures 3.12-3.14.

<sup>28</sup> Richards, ‘Running home from Australia’, p. 91.

his circumnavigation of it, Haydon feels to be so small it can be held between finger and thumb, is labelled 'New Holland'.

Homesickness, finances, the need for a wife: these appear to have been among the reasons for Haydon's decision to leave Port Phillip and make the long voyage home. Haydon's experience of migration had taken place in an era when at both ends of the journey the culture and society were fundamentally British. This of course differed from English and Haydon's movement in a society that included Scots, Irish and a few Welsh must have fostered a sense of Britishness in Australia that he would not have found within his social circles in Devon. Rather than an alien society it was the sheer distance and lack of communication that formed the physical and psychological barriers, and barriers that had to be overcome a second time in returning. Considerable attention has been paid here in establishing how and why Haydon came back for what it may say about this less well understood flow of people within the Empire. For Haydon the act of returning was probably a very bitter-sweet experience.

The shipboard journal for the return is more difficult to interpret than the outward one, partly because it is harder to know what Haydon intended by returning. It is telling though that in the production of this journal he recast his emigration in the form of an extended voyage. What is discernible from the homeward account is that the writer is a more matured and life-toughened man less concerned with comforts and conventions; a man who presents himself with a colonial persona whilst emphasising the fact that he remains an Englishman, and a man who has literally and metaphorically broadened his horizon. In the absence of any detailed record of Haydon's life immediately after he returned it is not possible to usefully speculate about how easily he adjusted to his old home. Despite his intentions Haydon was to become a 'permanent returnee' but his subsequent writings, lectures and activities suggest that 'emigrant' Haydon never quite disappeared. This study now shifts its focus to examine how this manifested itself in Haydon's life back in England.



# **ATHENÆUM, EXETER.**

## **LECTURE ON EMIGRATION**

WILL BE DELIVERED AT THE

### **ATHENÆUM,**

ON THE EVENING OF

***WEDNESDAY, the 4th of APRIL,***

BY

### **MR. G. H. HAYDON,**

(Author of "Five Years' Experience in Australia Felix,") who, as a practical man, will endeavour to give full information upon the subject of EMIGRATION, more particularly to the AUSTRALIAN COLONIES.

#### **OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.**

"A highly interesting Lecture upon this subject (Emigration), which is now engrossing so much of public attention, was delivered by our fellow Townsman, Mr. G. H. Haydon." "Doubly valuable then do his opinions upon Emigration become, when, in laying the advantages of other climes and regions before the public, he never forgets that he is an Englishman, addressing a British audience, all possessed more or less with the like love of Father-land, not to be thoughtlessly cast into the shade in considering the step of leaving Britain—perhaps for ever."—*REWMAN'S FLYING POST.*

"Mr. Haydon is a practical man, and treated the subject in a practical spirit. His remarks, relative to Australia, in which he has travelled extensively, were very interesting, and full of useful information to intending Emigrants."—*WESTERN TIMES.*

"Mr. G. H. Haydon, of Exeter, delivered a very able and interesting Lecture on the subject of Emigration, referring particularly to Australia."—*WOOLMER'S GAZETTE.*

"The Lecturer gave great satisfaction, which indeed it was calculated, more than any other we ever heard upon the same subject to produce."—*SOMERSET COUNTY GAZETTE.*

**Admission to Reserved Seats, 1s., Back Seats, 6d.**

Members of the Exeter Literary Society, Exeter Scientific and Literary Society, and the Oratorio Society, will be admitted at Half Price.

Tickets may be obtained at CURSON'S LIBRARY, of Mr. FITZE, 226, High Street, of Mr. ROBERTS, 265, High Street, Mr. BALLE, 247, High Street, and of Mr. DANIEL, at the Athenæum.

*The Lecture to commence precisely at Eight o'Clock.*

TREWMAN AND CO., PRINTERS, EXETER.

Figure 5.1 Flyer for Haydon's emigration lecture, 1849, HC.

Having joined the ranks of the 'awkward squad', Haydon was faced with the consequences of his return to England. At what point during the weeks, months or even years after reaching home Haydon ceased to consider himself on the 'visit' he originally intended and rather as a permanent returnee is an intriguing one. In all probability there was a period of transition during which the impetus for going back lessened until, as will be identified later, a point came when all ambitions for a further migration ceased.

Once the excitement of the homecoming had subsided, Haydon had to contemplate his future. Aged twenty-three he had already given up one career and, however much he may have enjoyed his time in Port Phillip, his Australian sojourn had resulted in the acquisition of neither a fortune nor a particular skill. However, if Haydon had been unable to make money in Australia he was certainly going to try and make money out of Australia. He was also going to influence other migrants.

### **The emigrant guidebook**

Haydon quickly set about capitalizing on his experiences, and on his exotic status as a returned colonist. In the period immediately following his return he worked on converting his Australian journals into a book, *Five Years' Experience in Australia Felix comprising a short account of its early settlement and its present position, with many particulars interesting to intended emigrants*.<sup>1</sup> Only too aware that the rapidity with which Port Phillip was developing meant any guide would soon be outdated, Haydon had only a small window of opportunity in which to get his work into print.

Published in London in 1846, *Australia Felix* received promising reviews. It joined the growing number of emigrant guidebooks and travelogues that were demanded by prospective migrants and armchair travellers alike. Evidence suggests that from the outset of his Australian venture Haydon envisaged writing some kind of emigrant guide. Soon after arriving in Melbourne he made the following notes in his journal:

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<sup>1</sup> *Australia Felix* was a term coined by Thomas Mitchell during his exploration of the Western District of Port Phillip in 1836, although it came to be applied, as Haydon does, to the whole of the Port Phillip District. That Haydon chose to use this term 'happy Australia' is also indicative of his attitude toward the place.

Articles necessary to be taken out by persons proceeding to Australia.  
Intermediate passengers - for use during the Voyage.

It would be far preferable for persons having £40 to lay out as passage money to proceed in the steerage by paying the sum of £20 and laying out the other £20 in necessaries for use on the voyage. Provided that the said person could put up with a few inconveniences resulting from the company he would necessarily be in some measure mixed up with. The under mentioned list it is advisable for every person proceeding either as Intermediate or Steerage passengers to procure as many articles of as they have it in their powers to do...

2 Gallons of Spirits  
1 Doz bottles of Pickles  
1 Doz pots of Preserves  
6 lbs of Sago  
2 or three Hams and some Bacon  
6 lbs wax lights or candles

Perhaps it may not be known to the intended emigrant that he has to find his own sheets, blankets and every article of bed furniture he may think necessary during the voyage. He has to pay for his bed to Mr Marshall or his agent. The bed, which looks more like a coffin than a bed, should, provided the person has a choice, be one which runs fore and aft He is not so apt to feel the rolling of the ship, which is generally disagreeable to a person unaccustomed to the sea... Let every person see his berth and accommodation on board before he pays any part of his money if possible. In addition to the aforementioned articles...let the emigrant add the following.

4 lbs coffee  
4 lbs of tea  
12 lbs sugar  
4 lbs tobacco from Bond and some Cigars.

Altho' he may not smoke, at times a bit of tobacco will save a person's giving 6d or so. I have seen tobacco sold on board for 1s 2d an ounce - a most preposterous sum. Salt and pepper are not allowed to Intermediate or Steerage passengers, therefore let the emigrant bring as much of each as he may require for 4 months. I have stated all the things that would be required for an Intermediate passenger to be very comfortably situated for the voyage. Above all things, let the emigrant beware of who he has the least connection with on board. Let him keep aloof from everybody that he has not previously known. (*TJ*, pp. 57-8)

Haydon's opening comments seem somewhat disingenuous as it is hard to imagine the sensitive young Haydon who departed England being able to tolerate the conditions of steerage. The best way to sleep to avoid seasickness, and what victuals to take on the voyage would have been practical and useful advice for the intended emigrant. It was not, however, the kind of advice that found its way into the book.

Haydon's *Australia Felix* is a somewhat mixed collection of facts, observations and anecdotes. Following in the style of Peter Cunningham's *Two Years in New South Wales* (1827), which was a combination of the writer's experience and advice, it was also similar in format to George Arden's *Latest Information with Regard to Australia Felix* (1840), and Richard Howitt's *Impressions of Australia Felix during Four Years Residence in that Colony* (1845). Haydon borrowed freely from both Arden and Thomas Mitchell,<sup>2</sup> and, as Carter notes, this use of the quote from another source was a common rhetorical device used in the absence of empirical evidence.<sup>3</sup> Haydon's book was widely reviewed and generally well received, for example:

This work, which is the product of one, who...is evidently not either a scholar or a scientific man, has a charm of its own and a utility that many travellers, being both, have failed to transmit to their pages. We can well forgo the graces of the litterateur who would at least have swelled this volume into two, and are much better pleased to have this plain unadorned account of the author's experiences. He writes to convey information, and this he does in a methodical and clear mode. His conjectures of the ignorance of others are generally correct, and he concluded very properly that the majority of his readers are ignorant of even the locality of "Australia Felix".<sup>4</sup>

Haydon was at pains to emphasize the legitimate authority of his book, promising 'recent and authentic information' to distinguish it from the numerous works on emigration which he considered to be misleading 'puffs' written by those with ulterior motives or little real knowledge of the colonies. He would have been pleased by the report that '...we have never met one bearing on its face a greater appearance of being written with a genuine purpose: most Emigrant Guides being a prospectus in disguise.'<sup>5</sup> He may have been less pleased with the extracts chosen to highlight the customs, particularly cannibalism and treatment of women, of the Aborigines which enabled one critic to conclude: 'If any one is still attached to Rousseau's theory of the superiority of savage to civilised life, we think the following will destroy the illusion.'<sup>6</sup> Claiming legitimacy of information was a common feature of colonial guides because of the amount of misinformation circulated, and there was often a strong sense of indignation among returnees against those who disparaged or misrepresented 'their' colony.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Thomas Mitchell, *Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia* (London, 1839).

<sup>3</sup> Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, p. 38.

<sup>4</sup> Douglas Jerrold's *Shilling Magazine*, December 1846, p. 564.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Grant, *Representations of British Emigration*, pp. 57-8.

The Melbourne press picked up a review of *Australia Felix* from *Simmond's Colonial Magazine* and reported that:

Mr G. H. Haydon, whom many of our readers will remember here in the capacity of a teacher of drawing, has made his appearance in the English press as the author of a work on this province, entitled "Five years experience in Australia Felix".

It went on to rank this book alongside the works of Thomas McCombie.<sup>8</sup> Not only does this suggest Haydon had been well-known in Melbourne, but that Port Phillip took a proprietorial pride in its colonists, especially those who promoted the colony and its causes back in England.

In his introduction to *Australia Felix* Haydon declared his bias not only toward the colony of New South Wales but specifically to the area that was the Port Phillip District (or the area that would become Victoria following separation in 1851). He was scathing of the government's 'pet colony' of South Australia which 'after receiving every aid that the powerful and universal agency of the British press could afford, supported by a wealthy landed proprietary in England, and cherished by legislative enactments' (*AF*, pp. iii-iv) was, Haydon said, in just as bad a state as Port Phillip during the depression of the early 1840s.

*Australia Felix* is divided into seven chapters and in structure, content and rhetoric it is quite typical of such works on the colonies.<sup>9</sup> The first four chapters are devoted to the history of Port Phillip, a description of Melbourne and details of the region's geology, geography, flora and fauna. Again one can see how Haydon's inclination toward pseudo-scientific descriptions, very much in the tradition of travellers' guides, enabled the colonial setting to be classified, ordered and rendered knowable.

What also lay behind descriptions of the existence of iron-ore, granite, limestone and coal, and statements such as: 'All the culinary vegetables and herbs which are found in England, are produced with scarcely an intermission the whole year round' (*AF*, p. 18), was a sub-text about progress, sustainability and vitality. European crops, like

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<sup>8</sup> *Melbourne Argus*, 9 March 1847. Thomas McCombie (1819-69), an early Port Phillip squatter and author of *Arabin: Or, The Adventures of a Colonist in New South Wales* (1845); The original review of *Australia Felix* came from *Simmond's Colonial Magazines and Foreign Miscellany*, vol. 9, 34 (October 1846). A sketch made by Haydon entitled 'McComby Settler' (see Appendix III) suggest he may have known McCombie who was in the Gippsland area in 1844.

<sup>9</sup> See Grant, *Representations of British Emigration*, Chapter 4, 'Colonial Promoters: Tactics, Rubrics and Rhetorics', pp. 57-78.

people, could improve in the colonial setting. A healthy climate, lack of disease and plentiful food were welcome news for poor labourers struggling to exist in England. Detailing climate, rivers, and natural resources was a way of highlighting Australia's fecundity as were the anecdotes about fishing or hunting kangaroo.

In his lengthy description of a kangaroo hunt Haydon went into great detail about the wounds inflicted on the hunter's dog by the hind legs of the kangaroo 'which are armed each with a single claw about six inches long and as hard as ivory'. He went on: 'The muscles of the hind legs and tail are of great size and strength', and the kangaroo was apparently capable of the 'conscious' and cunning decision to get into a waterhole when under attack. (*AF*, pp. 62-3) The whole scene is bloody and made so for a purpose: in the absence of dangerous predatory carnivores the Australian wildlife had to be 'given teeth'. This goes back to the point made earlier (see p. 92) that a frontier struggle must be validated by danger and manly endeavour. To push this point further one could ask why bother, when Australia had some of the most deadly wildlife on earth, to accentuate the dangers of a kangaroo? The answer is because there is little romance in a snake or spider hunt.



Figure 5.2 Fighting a kangaroo, 1844, 10 x 8, HC.

Having assured the reader there was good sport to be had in Australia, Haydon then added that the over-hunting of kangaroo would be detrimental to the Aborigines who needed it for food. This again suggests his difficulty in reconciling the interests of the Aboriginal and colonial populations.



Haydon was always careful to balance his descriptions of the exotic with a reassurance that there was plenty that would be familiar. He claimed that though many of the 'beautiful productions of the wilderness' had not received English names (naming being an essential act of colonization), 'the little daisy may here be seen interspersed with foreign beauties, appealing strongly to the eye and the heart of those who have not been absent from Britain so long as to forget its green meadows...'. (AF, p. 87)

It is true that Haydon had not experienced a drought during his stay in Australia, and had spent much time in the verdure of Gippsland and Western Port. Nevertheless, in general his descriptions enhance and romanticize the Australian bush:

Beautiful plains with nothing on them but luxuriant herbage, gentle rises with scarcely a tree, and all that park-like country met with in Australia Felix in such perfection is included under the general designation of the bush and its white inhabitants as bushmen. (AF, p. 15)

Haydon was not the first to project a pastoral idyll onto the Australian landscape, and despite his first-hand knowledge he was still prepared to subsume reality beneath this form of presentation. Even in acknowledging the risk of bush fire, which rendered the country 'for the time bare and desolate, the whole land is as it were in mourning', he quickly reassured the reader that 'the first rain soon dispels its ravages, and in a few days its ashes nourish the growth of another crop ...'. (AF, p. 16) Here Haydon plays on the urban nostalgia for a pre-industrial era, a longing for a rustic simplicity gone from England (if it ever existed) but which could perhaps still be found, or created, in other parts of the globe. (This idea will be developed further in Chapter 6.) Throughout the book there is a tension between what Haydon knew to be true, what he knew his readers wanted to hear, and what he was stimulated to write from his own genuine enthusiasm for Port Phillip.

The longest chapter in *Australia Felix* is 'Of the Aboriginal Inhabitants' but if its length is indicative of the real interest Haydon had in the Aborigines, its place as chapter five of seven equally showed the order of priority he gave to colonial matters. This, says Carter, was typical; relegated to the back of the book or examined along with the flora and fauna meant the Aborigines 'inhabit the world of the 'etc.''.<sup>10</sup> When it came to his presentation of the Aborigines, Haydon had a tricky job in balancing the findings of the supposedly objective scientific observer with what was sensational for

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<sup>10</sup> Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, p. 335.

the reader. He also needed to highlight the plight of the Aborigine, whilst at the same time assuring the prospective emigrant that the native inhabitants were not going to be a nuisance. On this latter point he again invoked the doomed race theory with his references to 'a class of people who it is to be feared are fast diminishing before the white man's progress'. (*AF*, p. 88)

Haydon may have desired to give an objective account of the natives but he knew their exoticism and strangeness was something with which to titillate his readers. Accordingly he devoted this lengthy chapter to an ethnological description of the tribes of Port Phillip. Their systems of governance, family life, celebrations, superstitions, warfare, and death are all dealt with as Haydon attempts to analyse one culture through the perspective of another. Such cultural measurements were also a function of Enlightenment ambition which hoped to establish a 'Science of Man' which could facilitate the improvement of mankind. This was predicated on the ideas that racial difference was cultural rather than biological and hence the propensity to measure other peoples against the yardstick of European society, one often used index (and one which Haydon uses) being the treatment of women.<sup>11</sup>

At the very back of *Australia Felix* Haydon included an appendix of Aboriginal words.<sup>12</sup> Again, Carter sees this as one of the ways that most highlights the 'inability of imperial history to engage the Aborigines.' Underlying the colonists' inability to understand an Aboriginal concept of history was a difficulty in understanding language, not just in the meaning of words but in the meaning of Aboriginal language as a medium. Often baffled by its constant shifting and connection to context and occasion, the European response was to try and fix the Aboriginal language in order that it may be appropriated by (and measured against) a literate culture.<sup>13</sup> Even with his modest list of words, Haydon's application of a science, that of linguistics, is an example of this cultural gulf.

Haydon also used *Australia Felix* to criticise the Aboriginal Protectorate in general and George Augustus Robinson in particular. With little concern for laws of libel, he wrote that Robinson was ill qualified as Protector because of his lowly background, and that he was haughty, tyrannical and corrupted by power.<sup>14</sup> The reasons

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<sup>11</sup> Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia*, pp. 3 & 149.

<sup>12</sup> Haydon, *Australia Felix*, Appendix, 'A short Vocabulary of native words used by the Woeworung, Bournourong, and Barrable tribes inhabiting country in the neighbourhood of Port Phillip', p. 169.

<sup>13</sup> Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, p. 332.

<sup>14</sup> Haydon, *Australia Felix*, pp. 94-8.

for Haydon's personal animosity toward Robinson have already been examined in Chapter 3. His objection to the institution of the Protectorate came from the high monetary cost to the colony and the lack of benefit in return. He was suspicious that the Protectors disparaged the white population, representing them as hostile to the natives with the result that there was mutual distrust, misunderstanding and division between the two races. Haydon felt that without an appreciation of the many differences in languages and customs there was no possibility of bridging the culture gap. Having no faith in the ability of the colony to solve the problem of how to treat the indigenous population he expressed the hope that some 'home society' would take the matter up. Looking to pressure groups within Britain to instigate reforms in the colonies was quite typical, but once again it is also possible to detect the influence of Samuel Haydon and his mobilisation of support for the Abolition Movement.

Disapproval of Robinson's involvement in the clearing of the Aborigines from Van Diemen's Land and their compulsory relocation to Flinders Island also fuelled Haydon's criticism. In 1844 a friend, George White, had visited the Flinders Island Settlement and Haydon copied this from White's journal:<sup>15</sup>

The total number of inhabitants at present is eighty, namely, fifty-seven Van Diemen's Land Blacks and twenty-three whites; so that in ten years there has been a decrease of one hundred and sixty-three on a total of two hundred and twenty... The greatest amount of deaths was on its first establishment and this is accounted for by the sudden change in habits of life and diet, the Van Diemen's Land government at that time only supplied them with salt beef and flour. There have been eleven superintendents in the course of ten years. The births have been very few, I only saw four children, two of them half-castes, and it is evident a very few years will see the extinction of the race. (*AF*, p. 101)<sup>16</sup>

The strength of Haydon's vituperation over Robinson is unusual from one whose inclination was always to see the best in people. Possibly the impoverished Haydon was jealous of Robinson's position earning £500 a year, or perhaps Haydon felt he himself could have done a better job with the Aborigines.

The final, and at only ten pages, shortest chapter of *Australia Felix* is entitled 'Advice to Intended Emigrants'. This was addressed to the poorer classes and assured those men who are able to work as labourers that they had everything to gain from going to Australia where their children would be a benefit and not a burden to them. He

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<sup>15</sup> Haydon describes George White as being a Melbourne merchant.

<sup>16</sup> This information was taken from an extract from George White's journal dated 26 June 1844 and copied into the back of Haydon's *JA*.

advised those who were educated but with little capital (like himself) to stay at home for the principal requirement in Port Phillip for the foreseeable future was in 'a muscular arm not in a well-informed head'. (*AF*, pp. 164-5) Haydon concluded his book with a plug for the separation of the Port Phillip District from New South Wales.

It is for *Australia Felix* that Haydon is primarily now remembered in Australia. The book is a standard text within the bibliography of most histories of early Melbourne and Victoria, and it continues to be drawn on by modern historians. The book was reprinted in a two volume limited edition in 1988 (presumably with the Australian bicentenary in mind) by Queensbury Hill Press in Melbourne.<sup>17</sup>

### Portraying the indigene in *Australia Felix*

For the illustrations to *Australia Felix* Haydon employed his old school-friend and artist Henry Hainsselin to produce the lithographs worked-up from drawings made on the spot.<sup>18</sup> Hainsselin may have been disadvantaged, though not uncommonly so, by never having been to Australia. In fact, that was soon to change as Hainsselin emigrated to Melbourne in 1853, almost certainly encouraged to do so by Haydon. Hainsselin spent some time on the Ballarat Goldfield where he produced a number of watercolours including *Prospector's Hut*.<sup>19</sup>

*Australia Felix* contains six full-page two-colour lithographs drawn on stone.<sup>20</sup> Despite the range of topics covered in the book, these six plates depict only two distinct subjects: the Australian indigene and the British colonist. They are reproduced here in the order in which they appear in the book.

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<sup>17</sup> Queensbury Hill Press has now ceased trading and it has not been possible to obtain any information about the reprinting of *Australia Felix*.

<sup>18</sup> Kerr (ed.), *Dictionary of Australian Artists*, p. 337. Henry Hainsselin (1820 -1888?) studied under Jan Willem Pieneman at the Amsterdam Academy.

<sup>19</sup> Henry Hainsselin, *Prospector's Hut* c.1853, SLV, Melbourne. This has an *en verso* inscription 'Dr. Haydon [and] Ballarat'. It is not clear to whom Hainsselin is referring although Haydon was sometimes referred to as Doctor because of his asylum work.

<sup>20</sup> The printer of the lithographs was Charles Risdon with whom Haydon lived in Exeter. The NLA holds a lithograph *View of Sydney Harbour, 1860* by C. Risdon after G. E. Peacock suggesting Risdon had other connections with Australia.

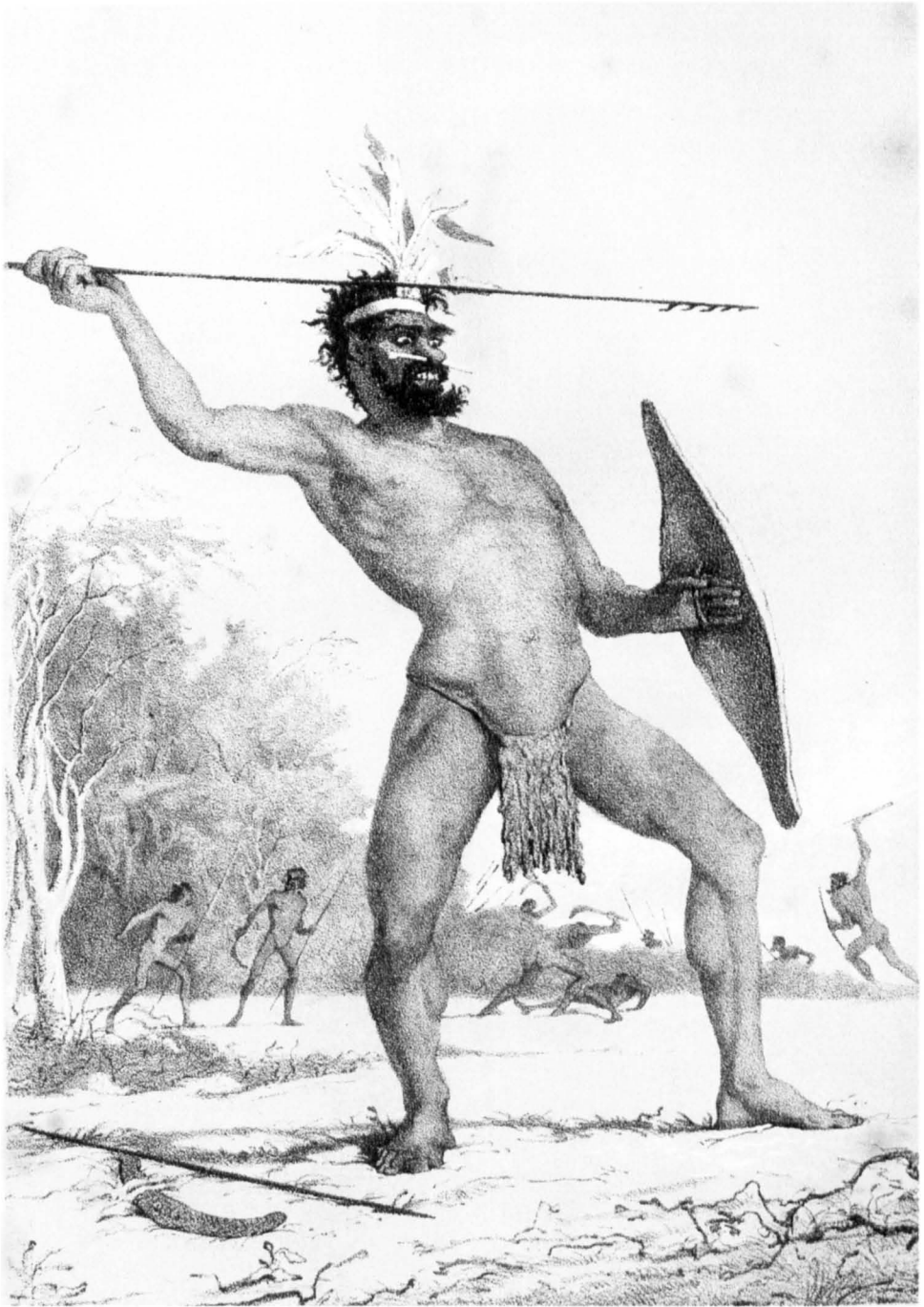


Figure 5.3 Henry Hainsselin, [untitled] lithograph, 13 x 18, from *AF*, opp. p.107.

This accompanies a description of the methods and motivation for inter-tribal warfare.



Figure 5.4 Henry Hainsselin, *Yonki Yonka*, lithograph, 13 x 18, form *AF*. opp. p. 119.<sup>21</sup>

Haydon used Yonki Yonka as an example of an Aborigine who had spent time living with Europeans and who he felt could have been used as an intermediary by the Aborigine Protectors but, left to return to his own people, had become a ‘most dangerous character’. (*AF*. p. 119)

<sup>21</sup> Fels, *Good Men and True*, p. 55. Fels refers to Yanki Yanki who was a member of the Native Police. He came from the Western Port area and had been captured by sealers in the early 1830. He escaped to Launceston, and took passage to Western Australia before retuning to Port Phillip via Adelaide.



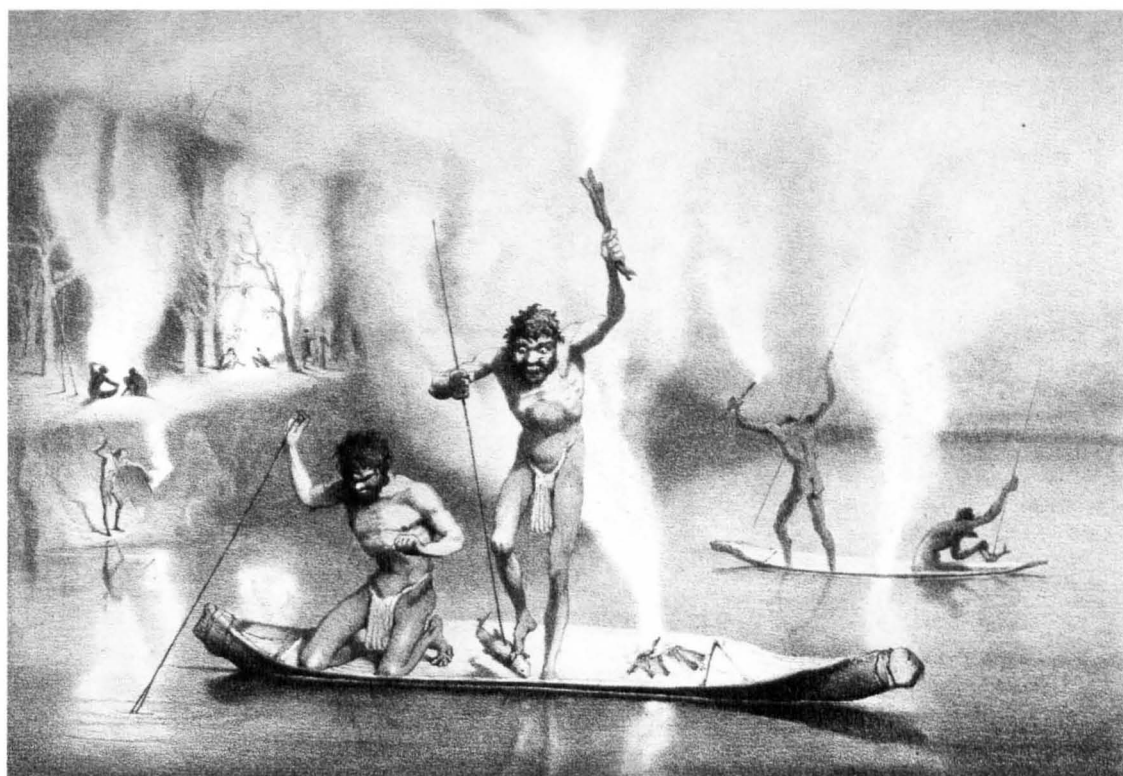


Figure 5.5 Henry Hainsselin, *Natives Fishing on the Lakes in Gippsland*, lithograph, 19 x 13, *AF*, opp. p. 44.

This accompanies a description of the technique of night-time fishing from canoes. (*AF*, pp. 43-4)

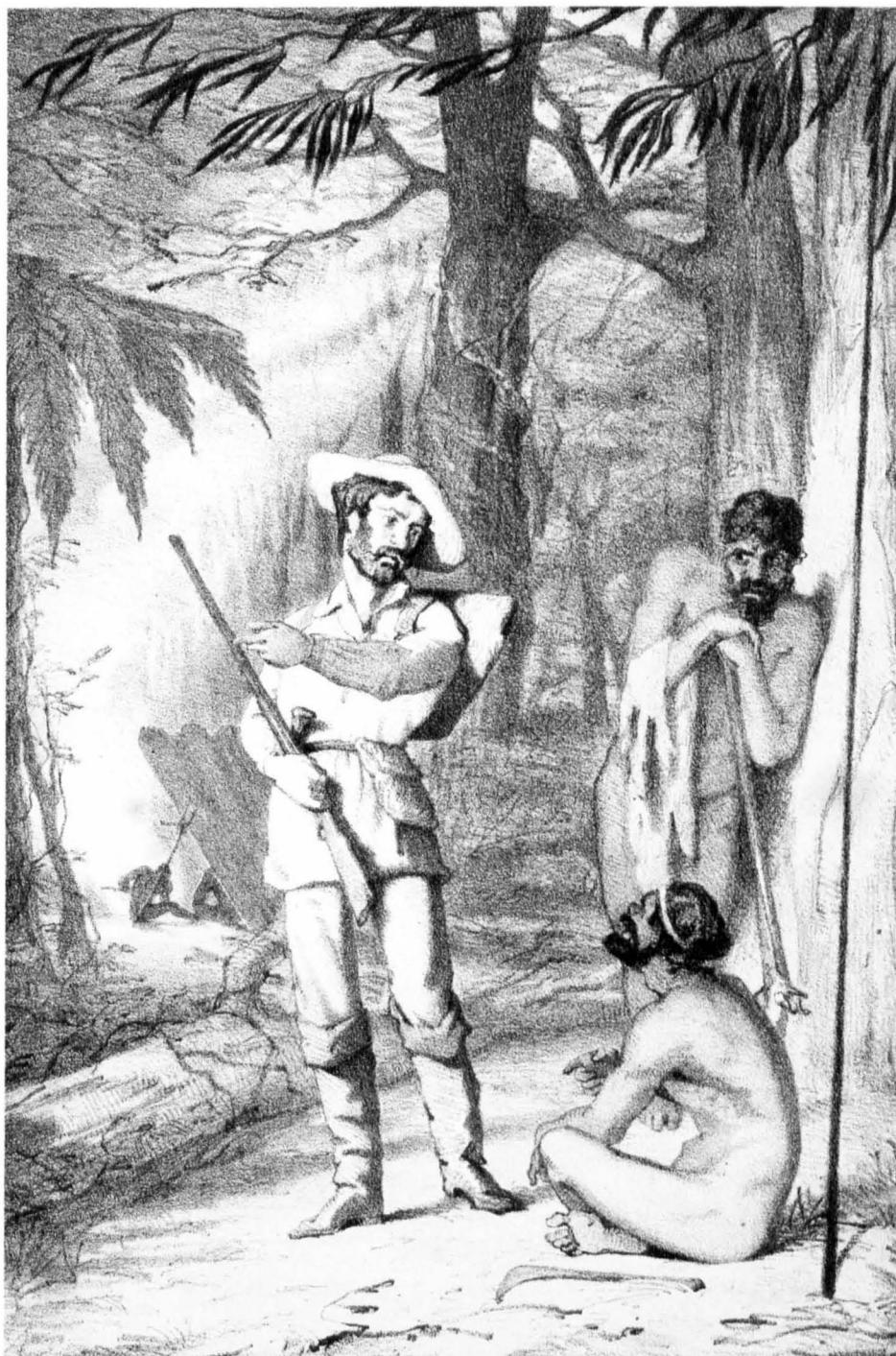


Figure 5.6 Henry Hainsselin, [untitled], lithograph, 12 x 19, frontispiece from *AF*.



Figure 5.7 Henry Hainsselin, *Camp on the Tarwin*, lithograph, 13 x 18, from *AF*, opp. p. 134.

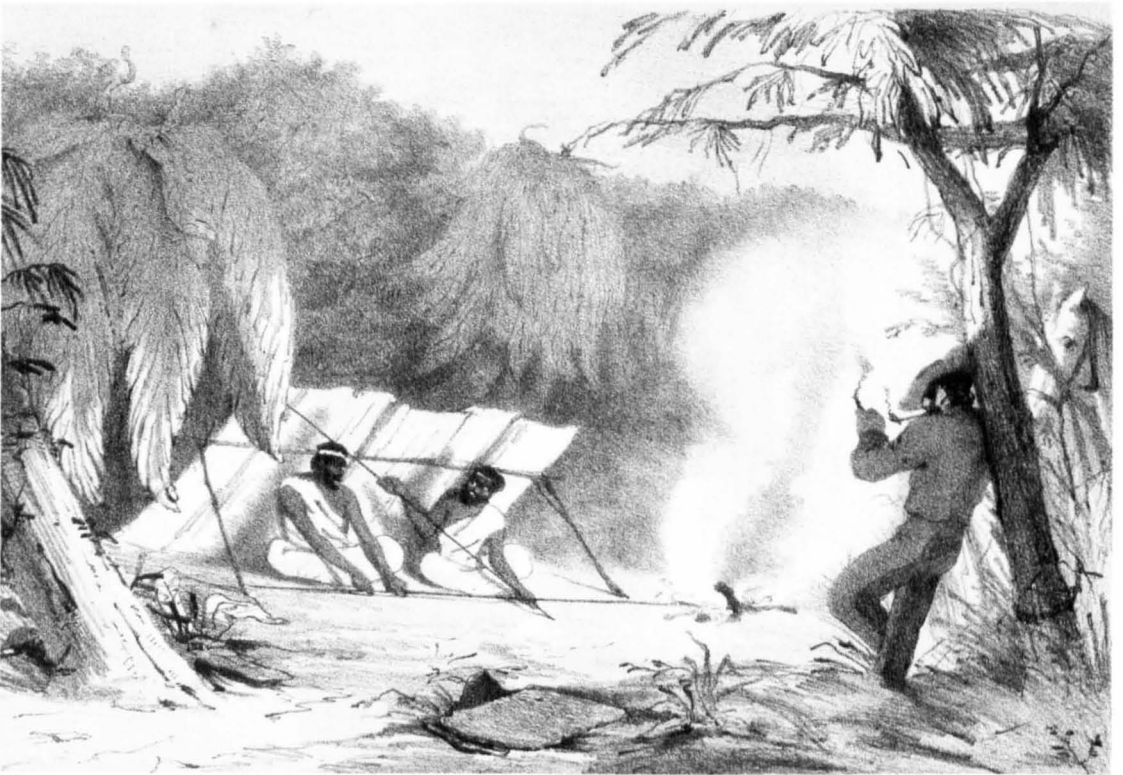


Figure 5.8 Henry Hainsselin, *Halt on the Road to Gippsland*, lithograph, 13 x 18, from *AF*, opp. p. 154.

Figures 5.7 & 5.8 accompany the account of the journey to Gippsland (*AF*, pp. 121-58).

It had been established that Haydon's own attitude to the Aborigines of Port Phillip was one of both sympathy and curiosity. Although these pictures differ from the earlier portrait of Benbo at figure 2.18 they also exhibit some of the underlying cultural assumptions that determined colonial attitudes towards (and hence treatment of) the Australian Aborigine. It must be appreciated that these images were being produced in England, primarily for a British audience.

It is difficult to say just how much Hainsselin was interpreting, or indeed reinterpreting, Haydon's original work but what is discernible is the influence of other illustrations and artistic conventions. Figure 5.3 shows similarities to both the Sydney Parkinson and Captain Grey pictures at figures 5.9 and 5.10 below.

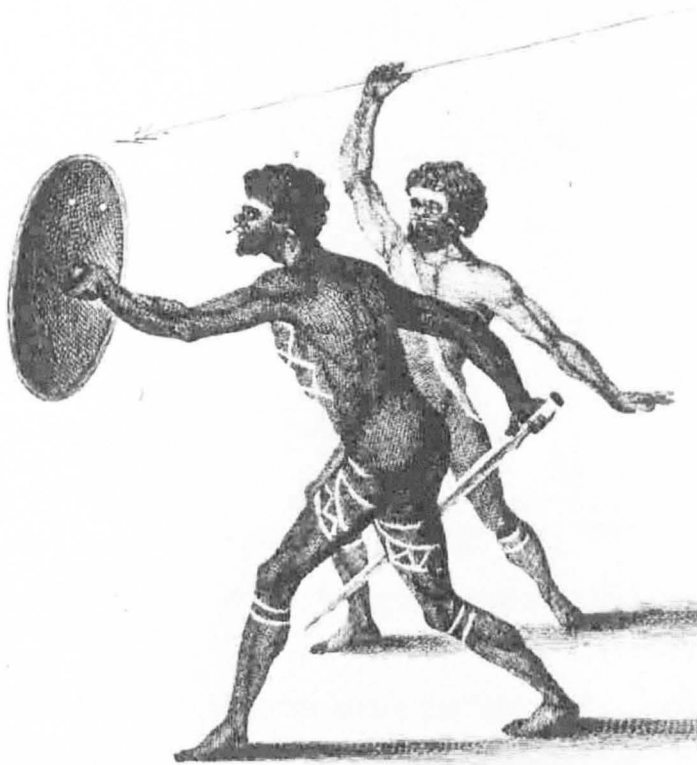


Figure 5.9 Sydney Parkinson, *Two of the Natives of New Holland Advancing in Combat* from Parkinson's *A Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas in His Majesty's Ship the Endeavour*, nla.pic.an9196444-v, NLA.



Figure 5.10 *Native of Western Australia*, lithograph from a drawing by Sir George Grey, 1841, nla.pic-an8955114, NLA.

In both these and the Haydon/Hainsselin sketch the figures are static and highly posed in classical warrior attitudes. Whilst looking at early staged photographic images of Aborigines Edward Dyer concluded that oppressed people were often represented by dominant discourse in these stilled poses which show not action but rather the potential for action. He concludes that this allowed for the fantasy of power to be exercised over them.<sup>22</sup> In figure 5.3 this potential for action is also being realised in the scene of

<sup>22</sup> Cited in Margaret Maynard, 'Staging Masculinity: Late Nineteenth Century Photographs of Indigenous Men', *Journal of Australian Studies* 66 (2000), p. 132. Some of these ideas have been explored in Katharine Haydon, 'The Emigrant and the Aborigine: An analysis of colonial attitudes towards the Indigenous Australian through the works of George Henry Haydon', MA thesis, King's College, London, 2001.

violence and ‘savagery’ occurring in the background, and more notably through the framing of the legs through which the eye is drawn. Black-on-black violence was, as previously suggested, an acceptable and common theme in both written and visual colonial representations, providing as it did a subliminal support for the argument that it was internecine conflict that was the cause of Aboriginal decline.

Figure 5.4 with the draped possum skin cloak and the body scarring is also a depiction of the noble warrior. However, here it is undermined by the inclusion of the pipe, the introduction of tobacco to the Aboriginal population being symbolic of both white man’s presence and dominance. In common with the Parkinson and Grey pictures and most other contemporary images, these illustrations fail to represent accurately either Aboriginal features or dress.

It is notable that in *Australia Felix* Haydon privileges the Port Phillip Aborigines over those of other areas:

It is generally considered that the native inhabitants of Port Phillip are by far the finest race of men yet discovered on the continent of New Holland, far exceeding the Van Diemen’s Land and Sydney natives in comeliness of appearance, and also in the manufacture of their weapons, and in the simple arts existing amongst them. (*AF*, p. 102)

It is not known what Haydon’s authority is for this statement but one suspects that as with his proprietorial preference for his colony he also has one for ‘his’ Aborigines.

Despite the lack of accuracy, the way in which the native was depicted tells much about how the colonizing society defined the colonized subject. Margaret Maynard suggests that: ‘The physically well-formed black man, naked or partially clothed, is an enduring trope in white codes of representation’.<sup>23</sup> She argues that black masculinity held a particular, and somewhat disturbing, meaning for a white audience. The representations of Aborigines in their traditional way of life are ‘reminders of imperialist myth making and nostalgia’. Although the way of life these pictures represent had been destroyed under the domination of white men, the colonist still shows a yearning for the original lost culture.<sup>24</sup> In addition, the depiction of the nakedness of the Aborigine, or rather the fact that the genitals are always covered, reflects not only issues of morality but also fear of sexuality. By covering the area it

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<sup>23</sup> Maynard, ‘Staging Masculinity’, p. 132; Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, pp. 126-7. Cannadine also stresses nostalgia for an earlier way of life as an impulse for empire.

<sup>24</sup> Maynard, p. 131.



paradoxically draws attention to it reminding the white male of both his control and also his lack of it.<sup>25</sup> Nudity was, of course, to be avoided under codes of Victorian prudery (hence the loincloths), but masculinity was also a complex issue for the white man because of the perceived connection between physical prowess and intellect and morality. This begs the question as to why an indigenous and supposedly inferior man should be represented with great physical prowess. One possible explanation is that in a battle between races, which the whites must necessarily win, the black man must be represented as an equal and worthy opponent.<sup>26</sup> (A parallel could be drawn here with the portrayal of the kangaroo hunt discussed above.) Certainly for Haydon/Hainsselin and most other artists of the day, accuracy came second to artistic conventions and the coded messages they carried.

*Natives Fishing on the Lakes in Gippsland* (figure 5.5) formed part of an exhibition in 1993 from the Rare Book Collection at Monash University called *Early Images of the Australian Aborigines*.<sup>27</sup> The purpose was to show how such illustrations provide a first-hand source of information on Aborigines and Haydon's sketch, together with some accompanying text from his book, was used as an illustration of methods of food gathering. Despite being valued for its anthropological content, this sketch also shows another underlying artistic convention in the form of the 'devilish' look or 'fiendish glare' common in the portrayal of Aborigines. If, as Ryan suggest, this can be seen as a reflection of 'European fears and fantasies',<sup>28</sup> it was also a part of the process which set up the colonised subject in a series of binary oppositions to the coloniser which included hierarchical pairings such as white/black, civilized/savage, good/evil, Christian/heathen.<sup>29</sup> This construction of 'other' also acted so as to reinforce identity for the colonizer, be it a national identity or a moral positioning.<sup>30</sup>

Figure 5.6 is in stark contrast to the first three images: a white man now has centre stage with an almost phallic display of weaponry, whilst the Aborigines are seated, passive and submissive. This, when read with the accompanying text, provided a reassurance to the British audience that the Australian native was helpful and

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<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.

<sup>27</sup> *Early Images of the Australian Aborigines*, exhibition, Rare Book Collection, Monash University Library, 14 October – 29 November 1993. This image is also being used in the online exhibition 'Why Melbourne? From Dreamtime to the Capital of Victoria', 2006/2007, <[http://210.15.209/why\\_melbourne/index.html](http://210.15.209/why_melbourne/index.html)>

<sup>28</sup> Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye*, p. 141.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 137 & 148-52.

<sup>30</sup> Marshall, *Imperial Britain*, pp. 8-9.

subservient to the colonial explorer. These images support the discussion in Chapter 3 that Aborigines had only two forms of representation: the wild and savage and the passive and helpful. Again, in figure 5.8 the Aborigines form part of the exploration party but are on the fringe of it, their basic 'mia mia' shelter a respectful distance from the immaculate European tent. The vegetation in the campsite has been tamed almost out of existence, and the gentle riverbank and neat wooden slips for crossing are a far cry from the inhospitable description given in Haydon's journals. The whole image has been sanitized with aesthetic convention overriding veracity.

These images of the Aborigines in all their forms were at once both disturbing and reassuring. Disturbing because of the natives' 'otherness'; reassuring because the European colonial subjectivity could be constructed through opposition as being civilized, modern, and rational.<sup>31</sup> Moreover they provided a foil against which imperial masculinity could be forged. Whilst it could hardly be suggested that any of these forms of representation were consciously done, Haydon, who had after all seen and spent time with Aborigines, was nevertheless complicit in reproducing and reinforcing these conventions. Such images sent out both overt and covert signals to the audience about fear and guilt, but more importantly about white superiority, about justification, and about reassurance that empire was a worthy and right enterprise. And this is why Haydon's images are more than just representations of the Australian Aborigines for they say something about the significance and position of all indigenous peoples under the colonial gaze.

### **The emigration industry**

However well *Australia Felix* sold it is unlikely that Haydon could have made a living from royalties alone. His next recorded attempt at gaining employment comes from an advertisement in a local paper:

A gentleman who has spent some years in Australia, would be happy to meet with an engagement wither [sic] at home or abroad, where his general knowledge of colonial matters would be found serviceable. The Advertiser is the author of a work of Australia which has been most favourably reviewed. Respectable references will be given.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> McLean, *White Aborigines*, pp. 47-8; Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye*, pp. 137-8.

<sup>32</sup> Judith Whitlock, *Gentleman Felix: A Biography of George Henry Haydon 1822-1891*, unpublished ms [c.1961]. The original of this advertisement no longer exists but was seen and quoted from by Whitlock, Chapter 9, 'Return of the Native', n.p.

Haydon could hardly have expected his own father to foot the bill for a second fare to Australia but this advertisement suggests Haydon still hoped, at someone else's expense, to find a way back, or indeed to some colonial destination. This again suggests Haydon's sense of Empire as a sphere of operation. It also indicates that Haydon still felt foot-loose having, perhaps, adopted a 'mentality of mobility'.<sup>33</sup> It is not known if any responses were received.

At some point Haydon must have felt unable to stay under his father's roof any longer. The house to which he returned in 1845 was not the same as the one he had left in 1840 as during his absence the family had moved from Mount Radford to a property in Homefield Road, Heavitree. This was a substantial villa but with five sisters and a younger brother still at home it may have felt oppressive to one who was used to independence.<sup>34</sup> Heavitree, although today a suburb of Exeter, was then a separate village three miles from the city and popular with retired naval men. The Exeter directory shows that by 1849 Haydon had moved into the centre of Exeter and was residing at 12 Paris Street.<sup>35</sup> He shared this address with Charles Risdon, an artist and lithographer about the same age as himself, who had provided the lithographic plates for the illustrations to *Australia Felix*. From this address at Paris Street Haydon advertised himself as an 'emigration agent'.<sup>36</sup> Although there is some doubt as to what he meant by the term, Haydon clearly recognised that in his part of the country emigration was becoming big business, and a business on which he could capitalize.

Bideford, Dartmouth, Teignmouth, Exeter, Torquay, Barnstaple, and most importantly Plymouth, were all ports from which emigrants departed. (The smaller ports tended to deal with limited numbers of local trade on an irregular basis only.) Overwhelmingly the most popular destination from these ports was Australia. Of the estimated 15.4 million emigrants who left the British Isles between 1815 and 1901 seventy-five per cent headed for the United States. However, of the 435,000 that departed from Devon (between 1840 and 1900) eighty-six per cent went to the New Zealand and Australian colonies.<sup>37</sup> The reason for this was geographical: whereas the North-West and Liverpool were convenient for the North Atlantic trade, the South-West

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<sup>33</sup> Eric Richards, 'Return Migration and Migrants Strategies in Colonial Australia' in David Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Home and Away*, p. 81.

<sup>34</sup> This house still stands although the road has been renamed Fore Street.

<sup>35</sup> This property was destroyed by bombs during the Second World War.

<sup>36</sup> William White, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Devonshire* (Sheffield, 1849).

<sup>37</sup> Brayshay in Duffey (ed.), *The New Maritime History of Devon*, p. 108. Brayshay's figures are derived from Annual Reports of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission and Board of Trade reports.

was better placed to serve the southern hemisphere. Also, by making the overland journey to Plymouth people could avoid an additional two to three weeks sailing from London from whence most ships commenced their journeys. In 1840, the creation of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, a division of the Colonial Office, formalized government assisted emigration, and in 1842 the designation of Plymouth as an official emigration port for assisted passages to the colonies, and the creation there of facilities for dealing with large numbers of departing migrants, secured the West Country as the premier location for departure to the Antipodes. It is not surprising, therefore, that a disproportionately high number of emigrants to New Zealand and Australia actually came from the West Country.<sup>38</sup>

For once Haydon seems to have been in the right place at the right time: 1849 was a boom year for emigration to the Antipodes with 14,106 departing from Plymouth in 109 ships, a figure not exceeded until 1877. (This compares with 5,128 in 1840, the year of Haydon's departure.)<sup>39</sup> As Plymouth dealt with increasing numbers of migrants, the local area enjoyed the spin-off trade in fitting out emigrants with food, clothes and equipment, and from the ships which required supplies and repairs. Firms of agents and passage brokers were clustered around the ports, and Plymouth could boast seven emigration agents by 1849. Some of the smaller inland towns were served by local agents. James Wilcocks of Plymouth had fifty sub-agents throughout the West Country who chiefly found local emigrants to fill any spaces not taken in the Commissioners' ships, another reason why so many from the West Country ended up in Australia.<sup>40</sup>

Agents made their money from selling 'contract' tickets on which they got a commission. In addition to advertising the availability of ships they would also give advice on what to take on the voyage out and what to expect once in Australia. Despite Haydon's advertisement in the Exeter press, it is unlikely that he ever acted as this kind of agent as he strongly disapproved of them on the grounds of the misrepresentation they habitually indulged in. Some agents attracted bad press for creaming off too large a portion of the fare as commission, selling non-existent passages or talking up the luxury of vessels. Haydon felt that he had himself been grossly misled in 1840 over the conditions on John Marshall's ship *Theresa*.

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<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109; Martyn Brown, *Australia Bound! The Story of West Country Connections 1688-1888* (Bradford-on-Avon, 1988), p. 120.

<sup>40</sup> Brayshay in Duffey (ed.), *The New Maritime History of Devon* p. 114; It is possible that Haydon knew Wilcocks as a James Wilcocks is shown as a member of the Union Lodge Starcross no 650 of which Haydon became a member.

In her work on the Scottish diaspora, Marjory Harper gives a much broader definition for the emigration agent claiming the term covers all those who wrote and spoke about overseas opportunities in a positive way to encourage others directly or indirectly in these opportunities.<sup>41</sup> Whether amateur or professional, Harper credits these emigration agents as becoming the ‘cornerstone of Imperial migration, translating an unfocused restlessness into a concrete decision to migrate through their lectures, advertisements, and personal persuasion...’.<sup>42</sup> It is under this definition that Haydon falls.

### Emigration lecture

During the spring of 1849 Haydon gave a series of lectures on emigration in various locations around the West Country for which admission was charged (see figure 5.1 above). In this he disclaimed ‘entirely any connection whatever with Government or otherwise. His business was not to *catch* Emigrants’.<sup>43</sup> Haydon’s lectures were well received. It seems he was able to sell himself as an independent advisor and, receiving no advantage from recruiting emigrants, he was able to give unbiased advice. Indeed, for many Haydon thought emigration to be positively inadvisable.

...Mr Haydon is a practical man, one who has derived his knowledge from actual experience, and whose travels in Australia were very extensive. He has seen ‘life in the woods’ in all its solitude. From such men as Mr Haydon, intended emigrants and the public at large, must look for correct information, for he is in no way connected with emigration offices, either public or private.<sup>44</sup>

With the reduction in the population of some parishes due to emigration as high as twenty-five per cent, the impact on communities was such that the subject was of interest to everyone including those who remained at home. Rural communities had suffered from the famines of the ‘Hungry Forties’, the legacy of the Speenhamland system of public relief, and the hardship caused by enclosure. The need for remedy meant that members of the local gentry or clergy, even landowners, might take an

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<sup>41</sup> Marjory Harper, *Adventurers and Exiles: The Great Scottish Exodus* (London, 2003), p. 112.

<sup>42</sup> Marjory Harper, ‘British Migration and the Peopling of the Empire’, in Andrew Porter (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire III: The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1999), p. 85.

<sup>43</sup> *Trewman’s Flying Post*, 22 February 1849; Payton, pp. 90-1. Payton notes the widespread use of lectures and public meetings as ways for agents to reach prospective clients.

<sup>44</sup> *Western Times*, 10 February 1849. There were thirteen other reports on Haydon’s lecture in the local press.

interest in encouraging migration.<sup>45</sup> This though was not merely philanthropy as the middle-classes had a vested interest in promoting emigration for the working-classes as a way of ridding the country of an element whose dissatisfaction with life might spill over into social unrest.<sup>46</sup> A further reason why colonial promotion was so often mediated through the middle-classes was because emigration and colonial expansion were causes in which the middle-class ideals of self-help, diligence and duty could be located.<sup>47</sup>

The text of the emigration lecture that Haydon presented in such venues as the Exeter Athenæum or the Mechanics' Institute in Crediton during 1849 has survived.<sup>48</sup> The very fact that it was retained amongst the mementos of Haydon's life is indicative of the importance he placed upon it. This lecture, now without its original cover, still contains the articles and cuttings from contemporary newspapers which Haydon used to support his points. He aimed to cater for a cross-section of interested parties: the concerned, the curious, and the intended emigrant. To encourage the latter in particular, seats were reserved at the back for just 6d 'In order to afford the Working Classes an opportunity to attend.'<sup>49</sup> It must be remembered that then the public lecture was an important medium for transmitting information to the illiterate.

To the modern ear this lecture is somewhat rambling and verbose, although it contained all the standard themes and arguments employed by colonial promoters. It gives many reasons as to why people should migrate to Australia (and why others should not), and much is said about who was in the best position to give such advice, but then very little practical advice is given. Nevertheless, the reviews in the local press were positive and Haydon recorded that his first attempt went 'better than expected – pleased the women consequently men did not dare to dissent if they felt disposed – much applause'.<sup>50</sup> Haydon made himself available after each lecture to meet with individuals who wanted more particular information.

The lecture began with a piece of pure propaganda that combined economic and cultural imperial goals with the romance of empire:

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<sup>45</sup> Brown, *Australia Bound*, pp. 106-25.

<sup>46</sup> B. Porter, *The Absent Minded Imperialists*, p. 27.

<sup>47</sup> Grant, *Representations of British Emigration*, pp. 106-7.

<sup>48</sup> It is known that the lecture was given at Moretonhampstead on 4 February; the Mechanics Institute, Crediton, 14 March; the Athenæum, Exeter, 8 April; and the Useful Knowledge Society, Teignmouth 10 April.

<sup>49</sup> Flyer for Haydon's emigration lecture, Market Room, Crediton, 14 March 1849, HC.

<sup>50</sup> Note dated 8 February 1849, HC.



We discern as with a prophet's eye the future progress of thousands and tens of thousands of our Countrymen carrying the name, the language, the laws and the refinements of their native Isle to realms hitherto unknown, inhabited by savage hordes, or untrodden by the foot of man. Be assured that in Australia as elsewhere the active arm of British industry will soon become gloriously distinguished. The capacious harbours will be crowded with the commerce of the world. Towns and cities will increase, and structures (whose marble sleeps unheeded in the quarry) will arise to glitter over their coasts as the splendid trophies of their wealth, their commerce, their laws, as in Temples to the living God. (*EL*, pp. 2-3)

There followed an examination of the social and economic necessity for emigration.



Figure 5.11 John Leech, 'Here and there, or Emigration a remedy', *Punch*, 1848.

Haydon may well have agreed with the above illustration by Leech who, coincidentally, was to become a friend in later life (see Chapter 9). On the wall in the background of the left-hand image are posters for a lecture on socialism and a Chartist meeting, reminders of the dangers of not addressing the plight of the working classes. Overpopulation, explained Haydon, led to disease, starvation and crime. He argued that the taxes levied via the Poor Rates which funded workhouses would be better employed in sending young and fit paupers to the colonies. This had the advantage both of stemming the breeding of such a class in Britain and stimulating the markets for British

merchandise as every man, woman and child in Australia consumed British goods to the value of £7 10s.<sup>51</sup> This economic argument was often used in the promotion of the colonies over the 'foreign' United States despite the fact that America was always the larger market. The development of the colonies would also ensure a cheap source of agricultural products for the mother country. Haydon claimed that, with a yearly population increase of 300,000, Britain could no longer ignore the problem of overpopulation. Here he was touching on some of the most contemporary thinking about emigration and social policy. Malthusian ideas of population always expanding exponentially to the limit and just beyond of what could be sustained, checked only by famine and pestilence, had influenced the creation of the New Poor Law of 1834 that replaced outdoor relief with the hated workhouses. Haydon supported an alternative system suggesting that a parish levy of 6d in the pound would raise sufficient funds for the passage and outfit of 200,000 emigrants to Australia, or 300,000 to Canada.<sup>52</sup>

Emigration as a means of relieving society of the burden of pauperism had its critics. These included both those who claimed that mass exportation of paupers failed to address the root cause of pauperism and those who objected to the fact that it was the people who remained at home who funded the people who left. Haydon's proposal was that the cost be shared between Britain and her colonies on the grounds that both ends of the emigration arrangement benefited. Aware that at the other end there were those in the colonies who objected to receiving what they considered to be the dregs of society rather than pioneering stock, Haydon was quick to point out that qualification for such a plan should be the 'bodily health, youth and poverty' of the candidates. He was not, therefore, advocating what colonization theorist Edward Gibbon Wakefield had criticised as 'shovelling out paupers'. Wakefield's proposals for 'systematic colonisation' were based on pitching the price of land sufficiently high to preclude emigrants from immediately becoming landowners. Those without capital would become part of the labour force (for the good of the colony) until they acquired sufficient capital to become landowners. This would also reduce the physical dispersal of population and maintain a certain class distinction which Wakefield felt essential for colonial society.<sup>53</sup> Haydon has no objection to the sale of Crown lands but felt the price

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<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>52</sup> *EL*, p. 9; Brayshay in Duffey (ed.), *The New Maritime History of Devon* p. 112. The Poor Law Amendment Act 1834 did enable parishes to fund emigration from the poor rates although never in significant numbers.

<sup>53</sup> See A. G. L. Shaw, *The Economic Development of Australia*, 7<sup>th</sup> edition (Melbourne, 1996), pp. 33-42.

of £1 per acre which had been imposed in Port Phillip was too high. One wonders, however, if his real objection to South Australia was simply that it was not Port Phillip.<sup>54</sup>

In order to demonstrate the comparative advantages of Australia, Haydon ran through the other major destinations for emigration. The United States (far and away the most popular) was, according to Haydon, already overcrowded on its eastern seaboard and emigrants, therefore, faced a long and arduous journey if they wished to go west or ‘OTC’ – off to California. But California was ‘only a country for desperate men – for those who may be willing in an unhealthy climate to dig for lumps of gold which, if they are fortunate, have to keep at the peril of their lives’. (*EL*, p. 11) America was also a foreign destination and *ipso facto* less desirable than a colonial one.<sup>55</sup> Canada was quickly dismissed as too cold: ‘You have heard of a Canadian Winter – never an Australian’. (*EL*, p. 13) The Cape Colony was too unstable with the tensions between the Dutch and the blacks, and New Zealand too full of fierce and vengeful Maoris: ‘...the strong feeling of the natives against encroachment may take years to overcome but it is to be feared much blood will be spilt...’ (*EL*, p. 15)

This brief and sweeping dismissal of large parts of the globe allowed Haydon to move on to his area of expertise: Australia, and in particular the Port Phillip District. The city of Sydney got just one paragraph, and South and Western Australia were lumped together as ‘settlements on New Holland all partaking more or less of the same characteristics’. (*EL*, p. 17) (Penal Van Diemen’s Land was, not surprisingly, completely omitted.) Haydon, keen to champion his particular Australian colony, feared his audience may be put off Melbourne because of the disturbances caused by the push for independence from New South Wales. It was a cause that he approved of but he wanted to reassure his listeners that ‘a young place like Port Phillip would not waste any of her energies upon agitation merely for the love of the thing’. (*AF*, pp. 16-17)

Somewhat ironically, Haydon relied heavily on the works of John Sidney and recommended his ‘Handbook of Australia’ (*Sidney’s Australian Hand-book: How to Settle and Succeed in Australia*, 1848) to all who were thinking of emigrating. Despite

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<sup>54</sup> Haydon may also have disapproved of Wakefield on the grounds of his conduct. Wakefield had formed his theories on Australia whilst in prison following the abduction of, and elopement with, an heiress.

<sup>55</sup> B. Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists*, pp. 97-8; Payton, *The Cornish Overseas*, pp. 78-80. Porter claims that, contrary to Haydon’s message, Australia was almost never publicly promoted on grounds of imperialistic patriotism, and national allegiances were hardly ever an issue for the migrant but rather the main consideration was individual opportunity. Payton, however, provides evidence that British territories were actively promoted as preferred destinations.

Haydon's repeated cautions that those who had not been to Australia were not best placed to speak on the subject, this book was actually written by Samuel Sidney, brother of John Sidney. Samuel had never been to Australia but instead relied on information from his brother (and others) who had spent seven years in New South Wales. The success of this book led to the establishment of *Sidney's Emigrant's Journal* which ran from 1848-1850 and confirmed Samuel Sidney as a recognised authority on Australia, and one whose influence will be looked at further in Chapter 6. Haydon's other recommendations were: Edward Landor's *The Bushman: Or, Life in a New Country* (1847), although this was actually critical of Australian life; Thomas Mitchell's *Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia* (1838) and the works of John Dunmore Lang, specifically his *An Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales both as a Penal Settlement and as a British Colony* (1834).

Haydon's concern to speak only of what he knew resulted in some sweeping generalizations, and the imparting of some information that, to the modern reader, seems next to useless:

The vast island of New Holland extending over many degrees of latitude has various climates. Its northern parts being nearer the line are very hot; and to give you an idea of the climate to the southward I shall only say that a few years since the fact that ice the thickness of half a crown being formed during a frost was considered worth chronicling in a Melbourne paper. So much for the climate - now to give you an idea of the importance of Australia in a commercial point of view. (*EL*, p. 19)

Not only did Haydon advocate emigration for the poor but he claimed that those who had a small amount of capital 'if they possess an ordinary share of energy cannot fail to succeed and the chances are greatly in favour of their becoming wealthy men.' (*AF*, p. 21) This had not been Haydon's own experience. He was at pains to emphasize that only hard work would be rewarded and that those who were by nature idle wasters in England would remain idle wasters in Australia. He illustrated the point with a rather literal use of Horace's adage: *Coelum, non animus, mutant, qui trans mare currunt*: 'Those who cross the sea change not their minds only the heavens above them.' (*EL*, p. 22) He was careful not to omit to give anecdotal accounts of successful emigrants and reported that John Beer of Kenton, who may well have been known to the audience, was now a prosperous stock auctioneer earning £2,000 per annum.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

Despite what he wrote in *Australia Felix* (and would come to write in *The Australian Emigrant*), Haydon wished to dispel the notion of the romance of the bush and to warn against expectations of a rural idyll. However, he did not try to hide his admiration of the Bushman or the virtues of bush hospitality. He passed on to his audience one of the most fundamental laws of bush etiquette, and again showed his ability to fuse gentlemanly manners with a bush ethos:

Shortly after my arrival in Port Phillip and during my first journey into the bush I had been recruiting myself and my horse for some days at a settler's and on leaving expressed a desire to make him some more substantial acknowledgement than thanks. "I say stranger" said he with a frown "how long have you been out in these parts? I should say you were a new chum?" "Yes" I said "I have been out about a month" "Oh!" said he relaxing a little "well now I'll give you your first lesson in bush manners. When a gentleman squatter treats you civilly again don't you ever mistake him for a publican - if you do darn me if you won't get into hot water. There - that's a lesson the old country don't teach. And now goodbye and whenever you travel this way again don't you forget to come in and take a shakedown with me." I never afterwards committed a similar breach of bush manners. (*EL*, pp. 30-1)

Haydon advocated female emigration as strongly as male, claiming the lack of civilization and refinement outside the towns was due to the lack of feminine influence. The real necessity for women as mothers and wives was delicately put: 'send only men and it is like pouring water upon the sand'. (*EL*, p. 26) In common with many, he ascribed women the roles of mothers to colonial children and guardians of colonial morality.

This lecture on emigration gives particular insight into the way in which Haydon articulated his message on Australia. He stakes his claim to authority and then lurches from the poetic to the prosaic; the pithy axiom: 'the race is not always to the swift or the battle to the strong' (*EL*, p. 21) is mixed with pragmatism: a bullock driver can expect £25-30 per annum in wages, a stock-keeper £35-40.<sup>57</sup> He also patches together the arguments and ideas of others often displaying a rather muddled thinking where commitment to ideology is less convincing than his enthusiasm for his subject. What is a constant and surprising element of the lecture is the commitment to both a patriotic cause and the imperial project. Haydon promoted emigration in terms of colonization and what was best for Britain, considering it part of the providential scheme with all the

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<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

romance of a classical epic. He concluded his lecture with some rousing lines from Dryden:

Let Britain's ships export an annual fleece  
Richer than Argos brought to ancient Greece  
Triumphant then our potent fleet shall go  
As far as winds can bear, or waters flow,  
New lands to seek, new Indies to explore  
In realms unknown to plant Britannia's power  
Nations yet wild by precept to reclaim  
And teach them art and arms in Britain's name. (*EL*, p. 43)

### **Family matters: Edward, and other Haydons**

In April 1849 Haydon was once more at the Plymouth barbican in search of a ship to Australia, only this time it was for his younger brother Edward. Aged eighteen, Edward had committed some unspecified misdemeanour for which he was in disgrace. He hoped his parents could forgive him, though it seems that George could not, and Edward wrote to their parents complaining of his treatment:

I must tell you not from any ill will towards George rather otherwise but I assure you ever since down at Plymouth he has treated me anything like as brother he has made me miserable unto this minute for as he knows I shall be in a few months from dear old England he ought to have forgot the past and hope better for the future. It is my opinion he came down for what he calls a spree going to the races, concerts etc. and then leaving me at home or rather packing me off [...] to get rid of me. You and my dear Mother might say directly I know it is Edward's fault no wonder his brother is so at everything but I say no he forgets what anxiety he has caused you and my dear Mother when young and foolish as I have been but no nothing of this springs in his recollection he forgets all and [...] on me as if I were a dog or pauper. I am God knows for I am going in a strange land without a [...] to help myself. George is gone to the races today bear this in mind and tell George of it when he returns...that I despise him and could never answer a letter of his if he ever wrote me and now my dear and anxious parent should the Lord preserve you and my dear Mother until I return to England's shores again I hope you will find me an altered character and should I be able to send you home any recompense for your good and parent like conduct to me ever since a child it shall be done [...] but I feel more than I can express by letter now therefore I must now conclude and may God bless you my dear parents is the last words of your affectionate and dutiful son.<sup>58</sup>

It would seem Edward was an example of the oft-quoted family black sheep best packed off to a faraway place, and exemplified in verse by Adam Lindsay Gordon:

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<sup>58</sup> Edward Haydon, letter to Samuel Haydon, 2 May 1849, HC.

My parents bid me cross the flood  
My kindred frowned at me;  
They say I have belied my blood  
And stained my pedigree<sup>59</sup>

On 4 May, two days after writing the letter, Edward sailed on the *Caroline*. He was not, however, heading for Port Phillip but for South Australia. This choice of destination may simply have been determined by the availability of a ship, but it may also have stemmed from a conscious desire not to follow in his brother's footsteps or more literally in his wake. It may even have been done to annoy Haydon who disapproved of the colony of South Australia and the advantages it had been given over his beloved Port Phillip.<sup>60</sup> For his part, Haydon's ill-treatment of his brother may have stemmed from jealousy. If return to Australia had been possible it would have seemed logical for the two brothers to have gone together, but with ageing parents, four sisters still at home and the elder brother, Samuel Bouverie, already gone to London, Edward's departure may have made George's own impossible. No further letters have survived from Edward and it is quite likely that he kept his pledge not to answer any from George.

Edward Haydon may have been the only one of Haydon's immediate kinsmen to emigrate to Australia but he was certainly not the only one from the wider Haydon family. The surname Haydon is not a common one in the United Kingdom. George Henry Haydon's branch of the family had been established in Devon, particularly around Woodbury and Ottery St Mary, since the thirteenth century. The inward passenger lists for unassisted passengers to Victoria for the years 1852-1899 show that a total of eighty-eight Haydons left Plymouth in those years; a further five are shown on the list of assisted immigrants for 1839-1871.<sup>61</sup> As these figures relate to a period after which Haydon had left Exeter, his direct influence on this family migration is doubtful. Nevertheless, the networks of migrant contacts and influences were complex and it is possible that Haydon played a significant part in starting off a chain reaction. The legacy of that reaction is that today the name Haydon is a far more common one in

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<sup>59</sup> K. S. Inglis, *Australian Colonists: An Exploration of Social History, 1788-1870* (Melbourne, 1993), p. 24.

<sup>60</sup> Whitlock, *Gentleman Felix*, 3<sup>rd</sup> page of Chapter 3.

<sup>61</sup> Unassisted Shipping Index: Index of Inward Passenger Lists for British and Foreign Ports to Victoria 1852-1899; Index to Registers of Assisted British Immigrants 1839-1871, Public Records Office, Victoria at <<http://www.Prov.vic.gov.au/access.htm>>



Australia and New Zealand than it is in the United Kingdom, or indeed any other of the common nineteenth-century migrant destinations.<sup>62</sup>

It was his very status as a returnee that defined Haydon in those first years following his return to England as he set out to make the best use he could of his colonial knowledge. If Haydon displayed no sign of the feelings of fragmentation and displacement that had troubled Richard Mahony, it was because he found a strategy on his return that allowed him to continue a relationship with Australia whilst readjusting to England and the gradual realization that his return was permanent. Writing and speaking on Australia may have been the means of making a living but it was more than just a projection of his knowledge and experience to a home audience; it allowed him to reinforce and prolong his connection with Australia. It was a way for Haydon to absorb and fix his colonial experiences in the context of his own class interests and national identity, and this was fundamental to the establishment of his own sense of Anglo-Australianess.

Over and above these private functions, *Australia Felix* and the emigration lectures acted at a public level as a way for Haydon to contribute to some of the intellectual and social issues of the day. Haydon referred to emigration as ‘a philanthropic an [sic] object,’ (*EL*, p. 100) and in its ability to act as a social remedy he saw it as a force for good. But it was more than this: emigration was not just about leaving Britain to go to a better place, it was about making another place better by taking Britain to it and further still strengthening the British stock by exposing it to the hardships of the furthest frontier. It was a patriotic cause, and Haydon was committed to the Providential design of empire. Empty lands and heathen peoples naturally needed populating and civilizing, preferably under the guidance of the enlightened Englishman and a Protestant work ethic. It is this which partially explains Haydon’s disapproval of gold and is one of the reasons, explored in more detail in Chapter 9, why he showed less interest in a post-goldrush Australia: the scramble for gold replaced the ideal (and illusion) of colonization as an act of altruism with colonization as an act of greed.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> This fact has been established by dividing the number of Haydons recorded in the International Telephone Directory (2006) in the four most populous cities in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, United Kingdom and USA into the population of those cities to establish a per capita ratio for the occurrence of the surname Haydon. These are 1:72,000 (Australia), 1:767,000 (Canada), 1:37,000 (NZ), 1:1,400,000 (South Africa), 1:203,000 (UK), and 1:945,000 (USA).

<sup>63</sup> Henry Handel Richardson [Ethel Robertson], *The Fortunes of Richard Mahony* (1917; Ringwood, Vic., 1998), p. xxi. In his introduction to this edition, Michael Ackland suggests this exposure of the avarice behind empire is made through the image of a miner buried alive on the goldfields of Victoria.

The influence Haydon had on his family, his community and, through his books, on an even wider audience in respect of migration, is tangible if not quantifiable. As Haydon increasingly recognised that he would be staying in England he had to content himself with sending others where he could no longer go; he was in effect going to Australia by proxy. Haydon's return and the period which followed shows the process by which he moved from being a visitor with aspirations of going back to becoming a permanent returnee. This transitional period was concluded when he turned his attention away from Australia and started to settle down by making a commitment to a new career, to marriage, to his local community and to his own country.

## Chapter 6: A Man of Exeter and an Australian Novelist



Figure 6.1 Centre House, Devon County Lunatic Asylum, c. 1945.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Reproduced in S. Allen, *Devon Mental Hospital 1845-1945* (Exminster, 1945), opp. p. 18.

How or why Haydon came to be appointed Steward and Clerk to the Devon County Lunatic Asylum on 7 August 1849 is not known. It seems not only an unlikely career progression from the emigration business but also an indication that this was not sufficiently lucrative. Perhaps it was merely that four years after his return from Australia Haydon felt ready to move on. Though he could not have foreseen it, emigration was shortly to take off on an unprecedented scale. The announcement of the discovery of gold in the newly created colony of Victoria in 1851 saw a mass migration of those who needed little encouragement from the likes of Haydon. This development immediately dated both Haydon's knowledge of the colony and his migrant guide. Gold, and the beginning of the age of the steamship, meant the start of a new era in emigration as well as the end of the Australia that Haydon had known and continued to imagine.

It is likely that with this appointment to the asylum came the end of any aspirations of returning to Australia. Not only had Haydon embarked on his career, he had also met the woman he was to marry. As already noted, in 1849 Haydon was sharing his Paris Street address with the lithographer Charles Risdon. Risdon introduced Haydon to his sisters and it was the third daughter of the family, Clarissa, who attracted Haydon. Her father, Joseph Risdon, was a land agent from Speccott in North Devon. The family was a respectable one and among the other children were a sugar planter in Jamaica, a civil engineer, and a surgeon dentist. George Henry Haydon married Clarissa Risdon on 21 December 1851 at Langtree Church when Clarissa was still only twenty-one years old and Haydon, eight years older, was approaching thirty.

It is just possible that Clarissa had her own particular connection with Australia: Risdon Cove in Tasmania had been named in 1793 after William Risdon, an officer of the British East India Company's Naval Service.<sup>2</sup> Risdon, also a strongly Devonian name, is even less common than Haydon and whilst there is no William in Clarissa's immediate family tree it is highly likely that William Risdon was from the same wider family.

In the same year as his marriage, Haydon planted another root that would be a lifelong commitment: his initiation into the Union Lodge No 650 Starcross, Devon was the start of his association with Freemasonry.

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<sup>2</sup> Richard and Barbara Appleton, *The Cambridge Dictionary of Australian Place Names* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 257.

## Devon County Lunatic Asylum

Following the introduction of provisions for publicly funded asylums, the building of the Devon County Lunatic Asylum for paupers at Exminster was completed in 1845 on a twenty-four acre site donated by the Earl of Devon. Designed by Charles Fowler (whose other works include Covent Garden Market) the asylum was built to accommodate 440 patients and was intended to be as self-sufficient as possible with its own farm, bakery, laundry and brewery.<sup>3</sup> The year 1845 also saw the creation of the Lunacy Commission as the central regulatory body which inspected and monitored all public asylums.

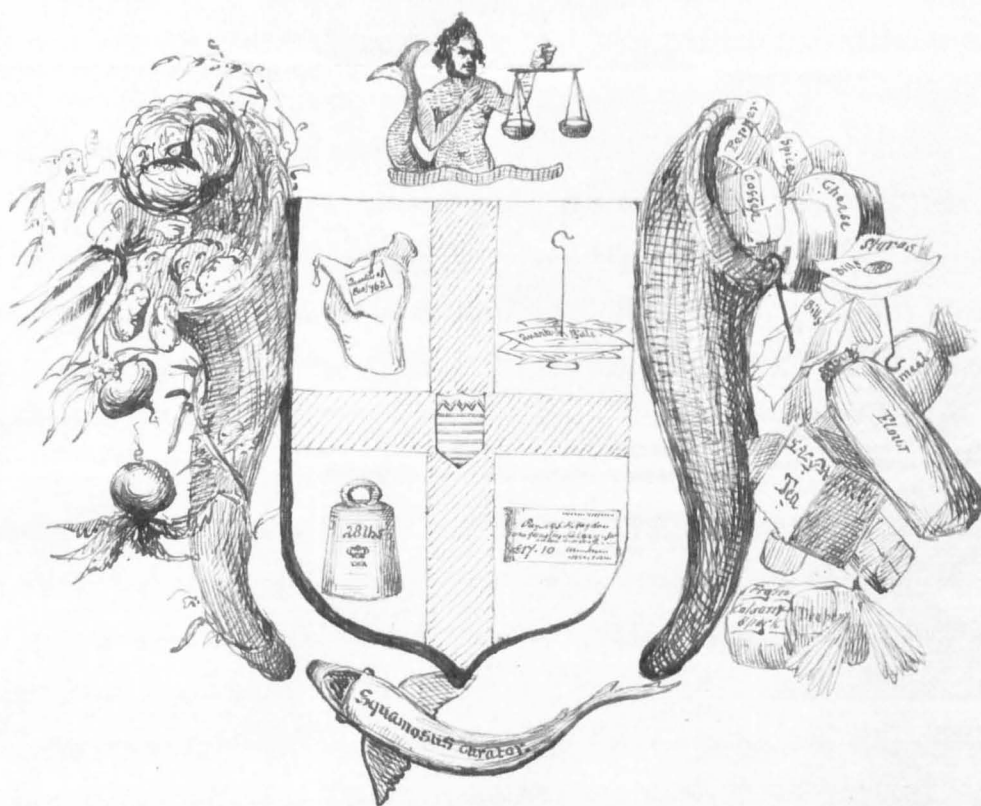
As Clerk and Steward Haydon commenced work on a salary of £70 per annum, a sum that was considerably less than he had been getting at the *Port Phillip Gazette* nine years earlier, although he would also have been provided with board and lodgings. His responsibilities included the hospital records, housekeeping and storekeeping. Perhaps here his Port Phillip experience was of some practical use. On French Island in 1843 he had written:

The poor law commissioners might derive much knowledge by enquiring into the state of our grubbery [sic] lately. No doubt they would learn a lesson as to how little a man could exist on to Wednesday.'(J3, 22 Oct., 1843)

Haydon illustrated his work at the asylum with this spoof coat of arms:

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<sup>3</sup> Barbara Bolt, *The Hospitals and Asylums of Devon and Their Records* (Exeter, 2000), p. 30. The hospital was closed in 1987 and the buildings converted to private housing.



Ye arms of  
ye  
Haydons of ye  
19<sup>th</sup> centurie.

Figure 6.2 'Ye Arms of ye Haydons of ye 19<sup>th</sup> Centurie', 20 x 25, HC.

Haydon gave his coat of arms (a sign of the gentleman) the motto 'Squamosus Curator' which he claimed meant a 'scaly steward or provider', and suggested that the crest meant that 'he was impartial in all things, or it might imply that he was equally scaly [sic] in all'. Interestingly, the 1851 Census records Haydon's occupation as architect although it was to be the last time Haydon referred to himself as such.

From the asylum's commencement the progressive doctor John Bucknill had acted as the Medical Superintendent. Bucknill's ethos was the promotion of habits of 'industry, propriety and order' which would cultivate self-control within patients and

negate the need for mechanical restraints and physical compulsion.<sup>4</sup> His methods went down well with the Lunacy Commissioners, and he was much praised. He was also credited with the therapeutic innovation of lodging out patients in accommodation by the sea, a sort of early form of care in the community.

Living and working in the confines of a self-contained lunatic asylum must have been insular and inward looking, the total antithesis of the outward gaze of the emigration cause that had concerned Haydon in the late 1840s. Nevertheless, there is a connection between the control of mass emigration and the reform of provisions for pauper lunatics. Both stemmed from the necessity to deal with poverty, and both were indicative of the increasing centralization of social policy which became a feature of governance in the second half of the nineteenth century. The creation of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission in 1840 and the Lunacy Commission in 1845 are both, in their ways, examples of this. Under the 1834 Poor Law Act, Devon's 471 parishes (with a population of almost half a million) were reorganised into twenty Unions. Most pauper lunatics were certified by the workhouse medical officer or by the Poor Law medical officer and then despatched to the asylum. Although designated a pauper asylum Devon County in fact catered for a cross section of occupations and social classes.<sup>5</sup>

At some point either prior to or during his appointment to the hospital Haydon had written his second Australian book, this time a novel entitled *The Australian Emigrant*. It is notable that in this loosely autobiographical work Haydon now applies the term 'emigrant' to his fictional self. This book, examined below, was published in London in 1854 and was to be Haydon's final attempt at any significant material capitalization on his Australian experience.

Haydon spent barely four years at the Devon Lunatic Asylum but the experience gained there and his association with Bucknill were to prove useful for his future career.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Bill Forsythe, Joseph Melling and Richard Adair, 'Politics of Lunacy: Central State Regulation and the Devon Pauper Lunatic Asylum, 1845-1914', in Joseph Melling and Bill Forsythe (eds), *Insanity, Institutions and Society, 1800-1914: A Social History of Madness in Comparative Perspective* (London, 1999), pp. 73-9.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* Bucknill left the asylum in 1862 by which time it was in decline having become overcrowded and open to accusations of financial irregularities and sexual impropriety among the staff.



## The Volunteer Rifles

Apart from his influence on Devon's migrants and lunatics, and the bronze statue the *Deer Stalker* (see Chapter 10), Haydon's legacy to his home county came from the role he played in the formation of the first volunteer rifle corps. Despite the fact that the Napoleonic wars had ended in 1815, fear of French invasion lay deep within the English psyche, and yet in 1852 there was not a single gun mounted on the coast between Portsmouth and Plymouth.<sup>7</sup> On the night of 27 January 1852 Haydon was invited to dine with his two colleagues from the asylum, Doctors Bucknill and Pycroft, together with a number of others. At this dinner Bucknill consulted over the draft of a letter he intended to send to Lord Fortescue, Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Devon:

The present state of France and the opinion so generally entertained on the unprotected condition of England, no doubt prompt the idea that a judiciously-conducted corps of Volunteer Riflemen might become subservient to the defence of this coast. I do not think that it would be difficult to enlist the best feeling of patriotic men for this object, while political and international animosity and unreasonable panic are, at the same time, sedulously avoided.<sup>8</sup>

Reply was received from Sir George Grey, Home Secretary in Lord Russell's government, to the effect that the government would be advising Her Majesty to accept the services of volunteer corps provided they met their own expenses. The Queen's approval was delayed by a change of government and it was Mr Walpole as Home Secretary to the new Prime Minister, the Earl of Derby, who in March 1852 passed on the Queen's acceptance of the corps' service. The date of this letter is an important one as it determined the date of the formation of the corps and therefore its seniority.<sup>9</sup>

Recruitment began and a committee was formed of which Haydon was a member. Haydon's other contribution to the formation of the force seems to have been the painting of a life-size target on the face of a red sandstone quarry on the Powderham Estate at Exminster. Unfortunately, when Bucknill fired at the target during practice he missed, the bullet went over the hill 'and found lodgement in the fleshy part of the leg of a young woman who was standing in a farmyard.' The girl was patched up and duly compensated, allegedly later saying 'she would not object to another exercise of a similar kind, at the same price.'<sup>10</sup> Notwithstanding this

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<sup>7</sup> George Pycroft, *The Formation of the 1<sup>st</sup> Rifle Volunteers* (Exeter, 1887), p. 15.

<sup>8</sup> 'The Founder of the Volunteer Force', undated, untitled paper cutting, c.1894, IIC.

<sup>9</sup> Ray Westlake, *The Rifle Volunteers* (Chippenham, 1982), p. viii.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

inauspicious start the 1<sup>st</sup> Exeter and South Devon Rifle Volunteers, England's senior volunteer regiment, was born.<sup>11</sup> (There were informal bands of volunteers in England that predate this, and as early as 1842 a volunteer corps of yeomanry had been inaugurated in Melbourne of which Haydon was likely to have had first-hand knowledge.<sup>12</sup>) The role played by Bucknill as the father of the volunteer force was recognised in 1894 when he was knighted. Haydon's part is also recorded by his name on a memorial standing today in Northernhay Park in the city of Exeter.



Figure 6.3 Memorial to commemorate the centenary of the formation of the 1<sup>st</sup> Rifle Volunteers in 1952, K. Haydon, photograph, 2005.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xiii. The Volunteer Force ceased to exist in 1908 when it was replaced by the Territorial Force. The TF was re-designated as the Territorial Army in 1921, and then the Territorial and Volunteer Reserves from 1967.

<sup>12</sup> Alexander Sutherland, *Victoria and its Metropolis: Past and Present*, vol.1 (Melbourne, 1888), p. 194.



Figure 6.4 Exeter & South Devon Volunteer Rifle Corps first inspection in the Castle Yard, Exeter, 6 October 1852, from the *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 16 October 1852.

Although he was part of the inaugural committee there is some doubt as to whether Haydon actually joined this corps.<sup>13</sup> The Oath of Allegiance was taken on 6 October 1852 when about sixty members went on parade for the first time at Castle Yard. If Haydon knew then that he was soon to be leaving Exeter he probably did not wish to make the commitment or financial outlay for uniform and arms. Amongst those who did join that day, and who would have been known to Haydon, was Alexander Kennedy Smith. Smith is worth noting as he emigrated to Melbourne in 1854 to erect and manage the Melbourne gas works. He went on to be Mayor of Melbourne where, amongst other things, he promoted the Volunteer Movement.<sup>14</sup>

For Haydon the Volunteer Rifles was to be another lifelong interest. It was an expression of patriotism that no doubt won the approval of a father who had seen action in the wars with France, and it was a statement of Haydon's commitment to his own

<sup>13</sup> Haydon is not listed in Pycroft's schedule of those who were sworn in on 6 October or who joined in the first six months, and out of the twelve original Committee members only four are listed as having joined the corps.

<sup>14</sup> Jill Eastwood, 'Smith, Alexander Kennedy (1824-1881)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 6 (Melbourne, 1976), p. 139.

country. Perhaps, too, the male camaraderie and the use of arms held a resonance for Haydon of times in the Australian bush where he had become proficient with a gun when often forced to shoot his own dinner.

**Colonial fiction: *The Australian Emigrant***

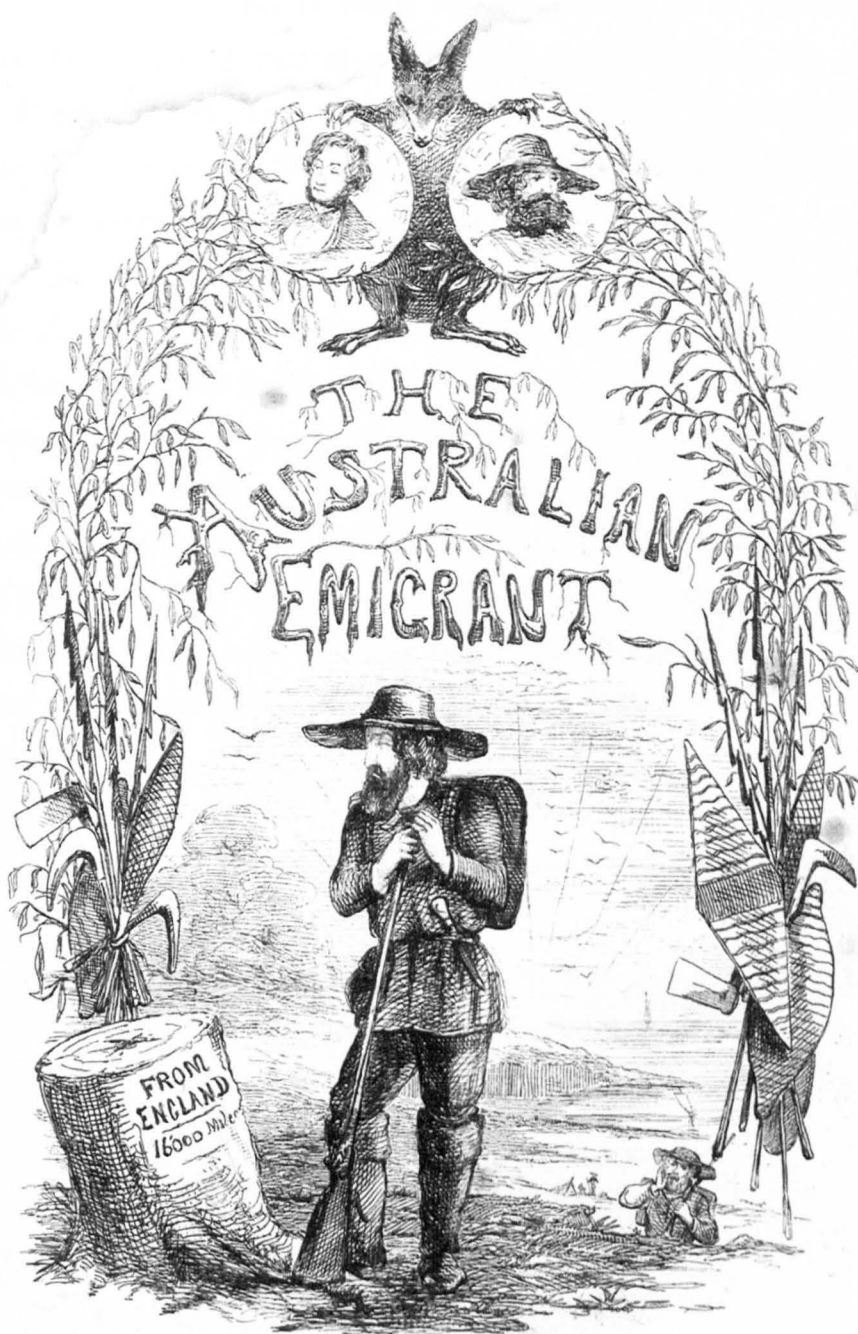


Figure 6.5 Frontispiece *TAE*, illustrated by Watts Philips.

Although *The Australian Emigrant* was published in 1854 it is likely to have been written in the period soon after Haydon's return when he was still attempting to make a living out of his colonial experience. This is suggested by the Preface to the book in which he talks of unavoidable delays in getting it printed due to the 'arduous duties of public office'. (*TAE*, p. v)<sup>15</sup> Unlike his earlier emigrant guidebook, *The Australian Emigrant* is a work of fiction. However, its subtitle: *A Rambling Story Containing as Much Fact as Fiction* indicates its strong biographical element as well as a claim to veracity. A light-weight, humorous and sometimes melodramatic tale of colonial adventure, Haydon's work deals with, and often anticipates, themes which were to become enduring in Australian literature. Like his earlier book this work was pitched at an audience which included potential emigrants.

The value of *The Australian Emigrant* now lies in its illustration of the way in which early Australia (and indeed the wider frontier context) was assimilated and interpreted, then offered to a British audience. Whilst complementing the works of other contemporary writers, its date places it at the forefront of such literature. Indeed, Chris Wallace-Crabb credits Haydon's book as being the first real novel to deal specifically with Victoria.<sup>16</sup> Encoded within the text is an imperial narrative and, in order to understand the book's form and function, this needs to be submitted to some detailed scrutiny. To this end it has been broken down into plot, character, themes and context, together with an assessment of the use of humour and illustrations.

### *Plot*

Haydon constructed a loose story-line around a mixture of real experience, literary convention and wishful thinking. With little attempt, or at least success, at producing intrigue, suspense or convincing characterisation the book follows the fortunes of its hero, Hugh Raymond.<sup>17</sup> Raymond, clearly Haydon thinly disguised and enhanced, is the son of a naval commander and 'a young man without profession and having failed to get

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<sup>15</sup> Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation*, p. 379. The publishing of novels could be done under a variety of commercial agreements which included the author selling the copyright outright, sharing the profits with the publisher, or paying the publication costs up front and recovering them through royalties.

<sup>16</sup> Chris Wallace-Crabb, 'Literature in Victoria: from the wild white man to the carnival of language', in *Victoria's Heritage: Lectures to Celebrate the 150<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of European Settlement in Victoria* (ed.), A. G. L. Shaw (Sydney, 1986), p. 87.

<sup>17</sup> It is a testament to changing literary tastes that as late as 1926 an appreciative reader wrote to Haydon's son saying: 'I am enjoying your father's book so much that am terrified to think it will come to an end soon. In some respects it is the best book of adventure and travel I have ever read.' Algernon D. Buckley, letter to Frank Haydon, 7 July 1926, HC.

a cadetship or any other suitable appointment'.<sup>18</sup> (*TAE*, p. 4) Like Haydon, Raymond seeks his fortune in Australia but, despite its basis in reality, the book's opening is a stock one with its depiction of someone motivated to emigrate by the struggle to get on in England.

Raymond leaves Plymouth on a ship named *Big Ann*. Here he meets Big Mick, a raffish but kind-hearted Irish emigrant from steerage; Walter Slinger, a fellow passenger from the intermediate class who is to become Raymond's fellow adventurer; and Robberson, a portly and pompous Colonial Magistrate. This account of the voyage illustrates the hardships of shipboard life as well as the class structure which stratified the passengers into steerage, intermediate and first class – aspects discussed in Chapter 1. Cramped conditions, death from typhus and the dangers of negotiating the Bass Strait were all witnessed first hand by Haydon and reproduced in *The Australian Emigrant*. The voyage culminates in the arrival at Port Phillip and a detailed description of an embryonic Melbourne as seen from the approach up the Yarra (quoted at page 45 above).

Slinger and Raymond combine their modest capital and quickly establish themselves in Melbourne as merchants, making enough money to indulge their wish to find some suitable land for a cattle-run. This is the quest which allows the action to be played out against a rural backdrop which is the setting for bushrangers, wild natives, squatters, bush hospitality, exotic and hostile landscapes, adventure, opportunity and adversity. These are dealt with primarily through the characters of Bayley, an escaped convict turned bushranger, and Dodge, an impoverished squatter eking out a living whilst constantly having to avoid his creditors.

Haydon superimposed these Australian themes over a plot which owes as much to Dickens and Victorian convention as to anything inspired by Australia. Amy Leslie, an old friend of the Raymond family back in England, has been cheated out of her inheritance by Jarrol, a crooked lawyer. Jarrol has been tried and transported for his crime although the whereabouts of Amy's fortune cannot be discovered. Jarrol's son then pays unwanted attention to Amy and whilst Hugh Raymond is in Australia Mr Raymond senior takes Amy into his protection. By the kind of implausible coincidence so essential to Victorian melodrama, Jarrol, who has escaped from Van Diemen's Land, and Raymond come across each other in the bush where Jarrol happens to be a member

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<sup>18</sup> 'Hugh Raymond' contains the letters of 'G. H. Haydon'.

of Bayley's gang. Such devices as the unlikely coincidence, mysteries of birth, unconvincing love affairs and happy endings were common in colonial literature at this time.<sup>19</sup> Faced with new material, writers could only respond with attempts to force it into the old literary models of the parent culture. Nevertheless, these devices of melodrama provided a vehicle through which Haydon constructed a patterning of characters and events that supported the operation of a moral universe where good overcomes evil. When applied to the colonial context such patterning could also be used to support imperial ideals.

Complementing this idea of the function of this genre is Martin Green's assertion that the adventure story was 'the energizing myth of English imperialism'.<sup>20</sup> That is not to say the adventure either overtly celebrated empire or tackled imperial topics but was a rather more subtle conduit through which the excitement and possibility of empire was channelled. In *The Australian Emigrant* one can see how the nature of the hero's quest was to settle the land for commercial gain, and this was very definitely an imperial ambition. Moreover, it points to what Lansbury has identified (and this will be returned to) as the most powerful myth which pervaded early Australian literature – that of a return to the land as a means by which mankind could be redeemed.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> T. Inglis Moore, *Social Patterns in Australian Literature* (Sydney, 1971), p. 133.

<sup>20</sup> Martin Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* (London, 1980), pp. 3 & 11.

<sup>21</sup> Lansbury, *Arcady in Australia*, p. 33.





Figure 6.6 Watts Philips, 'Catching bushrangers', illustration from *TAE*, opp. p. 159.

The climax of the action, though it has little actual bearing on the plot, comes when Bayley's gang is surrounded in a remote shepherd's hut (which by more coincidence belongs to Big Mick). Dodge, Raymond and Slinger agree to help in the siege and Dodge bravely approaches the hut to suggest a surrender without bloodshed. When this is refused a plan is hatched to make a shield behind which the men can get near enough to set the hut on fire. At this point the Colonial Magistrate Robberson arrives and tries to take charge, whilst being careful not to endanger his own person. Treated with disdain and made to look a fool Robberson serves as an example of colonial attitudes to authority, particularly when it came in the form of assumed rather than proven superiority. Dodge, on the other hand, is treated like a hero and later absolved of his debts because, in such literature, good behaviour has to have its reward. Haydon was signalling here that a frontier situation requires that authority be earned.

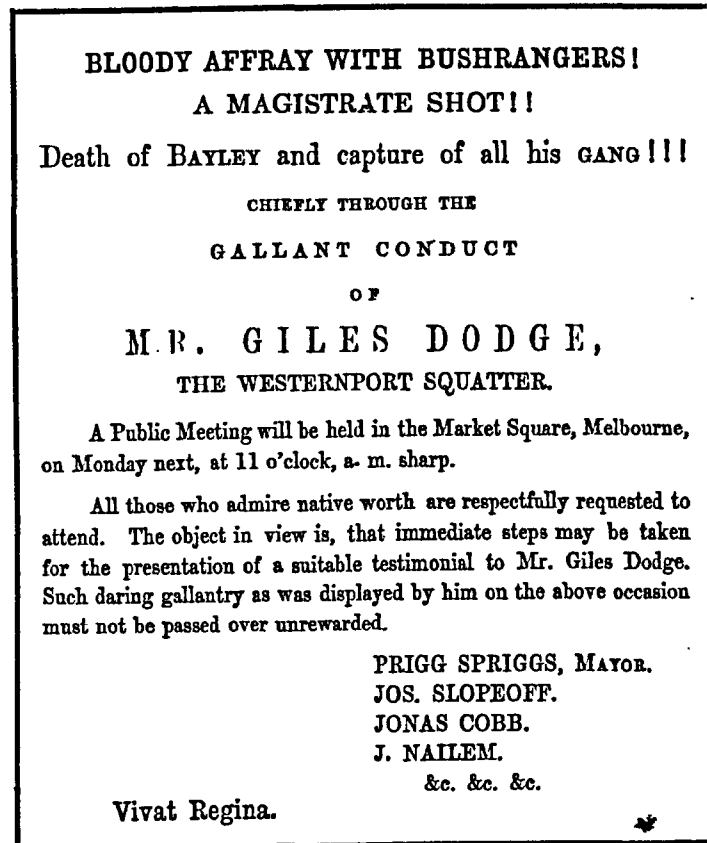


Figure 6.7 Extract from *TAE*, p. 170.

Hearing that his father is ill Raymond returns to England leaving Slinger and Dodge to establish the cattle station. Haydon seems to have lost interest in his sub-plot and the issue of Amy's fortune is never resolved. Raymond does, of course, marry Amy and they return to Australia together with Raymond's sisters (one of whom is suitable for Slinger) to settle in their pastoral idyll. Dodge is invited to be a partner in the station, and Big Mick becomes a neighbour and employee, taking over Dodge's old run.<sup>22</sup> A conventional happy ending with the heroes settled, thriving and procreating in an Australia setting was a strong endorsement of colonial life.

Indeed, the book has an obvious subtext in the form of a guide to intended emigrants. Descriptions of the journey out, what to expect when you get there, and the economic potential of various characters all aimed to provide useful information. As will be seen, a more covert subtext was also present.

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<sup>22</sup> *Ralph Rashleigh* also features a character named 'Big Mick' who, as in *Australia Felix*, is a jovial, kind-hearted, decent Irishman, suggesting this character also became a stereotype.

### *Colonial characters*

Despite the fact that many of the book's characters are based on actual people they are at the same time stereotypical of emerging Australian characters. Gunson, in his study of the squatters of Western Port, recognised many of Haydon's characters as thinly disguised versions or hybrids of the real inhabitants of the Western Port of the early 1840s:

Martin Bros (Manton Bros but modelled on Ruffy Bros); Rugsby and Ruffin (Ruffy Bros, but Rugsby probably modelled on Jamieson); and the pompous magistrate Robberson (Protector G. A. Robinson with a strong hint of Lands Commissioner Powlett). Giles Dodge was almost certainly a composite character based on Charles Dodds and F. M. Mundy.<sup>23</sup>

The Melbourne merchant Jonathan Binns Were is clearly discernable as the friendly merchant Binns. Even Haydon's old Aboriginal friend Benbo gets a part in the book although in his case Haydon feels no necessity to alter his name. Slinger is most probably based on John Sanger, Haydon's partner in the barilla venture of French Island or Willy Ker, a friend with whom he had 'gone bush'.

It is not clear where Haydon got his material for Mr Weevel, a passenger on *Big Ann*, but whatever his origin Weevel allows Haydon to depict a type of character that was to become popular in the 1840s – that of the 'new chum'. Bitten by insects, frightened by the natives, appalled by colonial manners, and disappointed by the rudimentary town that was then Melbourne, Weevel, with the aid of Raymond and Slinger, arranges to take the first available passage home. Behind this humorous characterization Haydon was making a serious point and one which he had already emphasized in *Australia Felix*: emigration was not suited to everyone. He was also recommending prospective emigrants to do their homework. Weevel, the reader is told, had envisaged Australia from seeing a 'glowing work on India':

The idea he had conceived of Australia was that of a country where luxurious natives sat under shady groves by day, sipping oriental drinks and smoking *genuine* cigars; this pleasant life varied occasionally by a tiger hunt, in which the sportsman was effectually removed from all danger by being stationed in a strongly fortified castle borne on the back of a gigantic elephant. In short, Australia to him was to have been a sensual paradise. (*TAE*, pp. 39-40)

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<sup>23</sup> Gunson, *The Good Country*, p. 42. Although Gunson identifies the Martin brothers as the Manton brothers they are more likely to be cameos of Haydon's friends the Martin brothers of Brighton.



Figure 6.8 'Mr Weevil', Watts Philips, illustration from *TAE*, opp. p. 50.

Haydon described his new chum as true to type, a foppish, upper-class Englishman, and by setting him up as the object of some amusement to the old hands he was also highlighting the inappropriateness of transporting the old indicators of breeding to the new colony.<sup>24</sup>

Left to guard the luggage Weevil falls asleep and awakens surrounded by curious Aborigines. Believing himself about to be murdered he panics and is rescued by the amused Slinger and Raymond. Whilst Weevil is the intended butt of the joke (and endures more ridicule before he disappears from the book) the Aborigines too are depicted as comical. Particular amusement is derived from their attempts to pronounce

<sup>24</sup> Dorothy Jones and Barry Andrews, 'Australian Humour', in L. Hergenhahn (ed.), *The Penguin New Literary History of Australia* (Ringwood, Victoria, 1988), p. 63. Jones and Andrews note that outback workers used new chum jokes to test and reject newcomers often portrayed as upper-class Englishmen, so that the humour also tended to express the feelings of class conflict.

Slinger's name "Tclinger – Mitter Tclinger", stuttered Benbo in a vain effort to pronounce the s, and producing something between a sneeze and a cough'. (*TAE*, p. 49) The assertion by Wilde and Heaton that Haydon presents the "civilized" Aborigine as an object of amused, scornful white tolerance, much as Barron Field had done with the Sydney native Bungaree thirty years earlier'<sup>25</sup> is perhaps an overstatement in view of Haydon's general attitude of sympathy toward the Aborigines. However, just as in his visual representation of the indigene discussed in Chapter 3, Haydon had a dilemma in presenting the Aborigine in fiction. This humorous depiction of the Aborigines speaking the white-man's language whilst only managing a distortion results in a grotesquery similar, in essence, to that of the Benbo image at figure 2.18.

Haydon also presented his fictional Aborigines, as he did in the Gippsland journal, in their other conventional role of the wild savage. This again served to emphasize both the ambivalent nature of the bush, a place of danger as well as opportunity, and the heroics of the frontier bushman. Haydon was careful not to put his hero in direct conflict with the natives and thus avoided posing him any moral dilemma. The bushranger Bayley describes killing an Aborigine (but only in self-defence), and Dodge investigates a native camp under cover of night scaring away the highly superstitious (and therefore heathen) natives without any violence. Marie Hansen Fels misrepresents Haydon when she states:

He was a friend of the Aborigines, cultivated them, interested in them for their own sake, interested in drawing them, but on one occasion he found himself in the unusual position of being attacked by a number of Aborigines: he 'fired both barrels, but *all* the savages dropped. That's three too many said I, as I loaded again'.<sup>26</sup>

This account of firing the gun is given by the fictional Bayley, not by Haydon/Raymond. Haydon may have been prepared to pander to the expectations of his perceived audience but, as has been seen, he was deeply uncomfortable with the treatment of the native population.

The presentation of the Aborigine was clearly problematic and Haydon did have a half-hearted attempt at an alternative treatment (and one more commonly seen in accounts of exploration) with that of the Aborigine as the helpful guide. When

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<sup>25</sup> W. H. Wilde and David Heaton, 'Aborigines in White Australian Literature' in William H. Wilde, Joy Hooton and Barry Andrews, *The Oxford Companion to Australian Literature*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Melbourne, 1994), p. 3.

<sup>26</sup> Fels, *Good Men and True*, p. 119.

Raymond and Slinger set out on their trip to Western Port they are accompanied by Benbo and his spouse. Again the picture painted is an amusing one as Haydon listed the vast number of miscellaneous objects carried by Benbo's wife 'who he [Benbo] had named Kitty, as being more convenient and euphonious than her original designation, Montgurryburruckuck'.<sup>27</sup> (*TAE*, p. 68) This was nothing other than an opportunity for Haydon to describe the native bush skills (which he greatly admired), and, in an aside to those who may be disgusted by the description of Mrs Benbo eating a grub several inches long, Haydon asks his reader 'hast never eaten an oyster, Sir?' (*TAE*, p. 65) There is a tension here between the amusement/ridicule and the admiration with which he presents his Aboriginal characters, one that proved impossible to sustain. Accordingly, Benbo was dropped from the book. Later, reference is made to the Aboriginal population as 'the tribes who are passing away' (*TAE*, p. 187) which again indicates that Haydon subscribed to (or at least promoted) the Doomed Race theory. It is another example of the assurance he was signalling to the intended emigrant that the Aborigines were not going to provide a long-term problem to the colonists. Such ambivalent representations of the Aborigine which moved between the comically curious bystander, the helpful guide, and the threatening savage were typical of this type of literature, although Haydon was unusual (if unsuccessful) in trying to develop a named Aboriginal character.<sup>28</sup>

Giles Dodge is a squatter in financial difficulty. So skilled has he become at 'dodging' the various bailiffs sent into the bush in search of him he has earned the name of the 'Bum Perisher'- 'bum' being a bailiff, and 'perish' being what could happen to them if they pursued Dodge too enthusiastically. This portrait of Dodge was clearly influenced by the many insolvencies Haydon had witnesses during the depression of the early 1840s.

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<sup>27</sup> R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, vol. 1 (Melbourne, 1878), p. 139. Smyth notes that King Benbow (alternative spelling), who was well known in Melbourne in 1848, was particularly attached to his wife who pined to death after Benbow died. Perhaps Haydon was recognising this close relationship in his depiction of 'Kitty'.

<sup>28</sup> Gaile McGregor, *EcCentric Visions: ReConstructing Australia* (Waterloo, Ontario, 1994), p. 16. McGregor cites in particular the works of Tucker and Boldrewood.



Figure 6.9 'Dodge', Watts Philips, illustration from *TAE*, opp. p. 122.

Dodge is an important type in colonial literature and is the character to whom Haydon pays most attention. As a pastoral pioneer his sphere of operation is the frontier, and it was the attitudes of people like Dodge that were to define so much of the national character which in turn provided a basis for the national identity. Self-reliance, phlegmatic demeanour, egalitarian values and wryness of humour are all found in Dodge, and these were qualities formed as a particular response to the bush environment. The strength of the relationship between the pioneer and the landscape leads Tom Inglis Moore to claim that the early bushmen developed into a distinctive physical type. In so few generations this could hardly have been a literal morphogenesis but was, rather, an imaginative or literary construction. The assertion that they were defined by a 'relative tallness of stature, leanness of build, and narrowness of face, with



the nose also narrow, the lips thin, and the eyes blue or grey'<sup>29</sup> is uncannily accurate when applied to Haydon's description of his bushman (see also figures 2.17 & 3.1):

Mr Dodge was about forty years of age, although he looked ten years older; he stood six feet in his moccasins [sic]...He was spare and wiry, his features sharp, decided, and angular; his nose aquiline and slightly drooping at the point; his deep-set eyes were grey and piercing. (*TAE*, p. 87)

As Gunson has noted, Magistrate Robberson is clearly based on George Augustus Robinson. Haydon had already disparaged Robinson in *Australia Felix*, yet his treatment of Robinson in such a light-hearted book as *The Australian Emigrant* seems particularly vindictive and suggests the sheer depth of contempt in which Haydon held the Chief Protector. Whilst Robberson initially appears as a figure of fun on the ship out, an example of the pompous and incompetent colonial authority which Australians loved to mock, it is later revealed that his ill use of the convict Bayley has been the cause of Bayley's becoming an outlaw. As will be seen, Haydon was to take the ultimate revenge on his fictional Robinson.

The bushranger was to become a character that pervades Australian bush literature and, particularly in the form of Ned Kelly, has attained folklore status. The importance of this character evolved through a mixture of factors: as a result of the absence of war heroes, antagonism to authority, and the romance of the English highway robber.<sup>30</sup> Ward claims that bushrangers commanded a degree of sympathy among the early settlers because they 'were symbols of the emergent Australian national feeling.'<sup>31</sup> But their literary treatment, like so much else Australian, still displayed a degree of ambivalence. As Ward himself notes:

The intersection of the melodrama (which demands the triumph of virtue over vice) with the folklore tradition (overwhelmingly sympathetic) was partly resolved by the emergence of both good and bad bushrangers and police.<sup>32</sup>

This is precisely what is demonstrated by Haydon who offers his reader both the good bushranger in the form of Bayley, and the bad one in the form of Jarrol. Slinger and Raymond meet Bayley first. Once leader of a notorious gang (of which Jarrol is a member) Bayley has broken with them and is living in a hollow tree which, in the spirit

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<sup>29</sup> Moore, *Social Pattern in Australian History*, p. 64.

<sup>30</sup> Ward, *The Australian Legend*, pp. 145-7.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 164.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138.

of bush hospitality, he offers to share. By chance he sees in a paper carried by the travellers that there is a reward of £200 on his head and a free pardon for any of his gang who will turn him in. Touched by the kindness of Raymond and Slinger, Bayley confesses who he is and what he has done.



Figure 6.10 'Bayley', Watts Philips, illustration from *TAE*, opp. p. 68.

Bayley, an Irishman, has been transported for being involved in a confrontation between soldiers and voters during an election in Ireland.<sup>33</sup> He tells Raymond and Slinger his story:

<sup>33</sup> Haydon attributes a respectable crime to Bayley similar to that committed by Jem Carden in Sidney's *Gallops and Gossips in the Bush of Australia* (1854) who was transported for rioting against the increasing mechanization which was depriving workers of jobs. Coral Lansbury also notes the common depiction of the convict as guilty of the more respectable crimes of poaching or political agitation.

I was sent to Van Dieman's [sic] Land, where it fell to my lot to be assigned to a master who had five years before been a bricklayer's labourer,<sup>34</sup> but who, by his good fortune, aided with a great proportion of rascality, had amassed some money, and had actually been made a magistrate. This was the man I had to call master, and to obey his behests however tyrannical, without a word. I submitted to my lot for a time with patience; but one day, for a trifling thing, which he construed into an insult to the dignity of a colonial magistrate, he ordered me to be tied up and receive three dozen lashes...I appealed to him in vain to spare me the degradation – to pause and consider whether he was not overstepping the bounds of the law and of humanity. He told me to hold my jaw: 'it will be a satisfaction,' he said, 'to see the dignity of a colonial officer righted; I shall remain and see the punishment, and if the scourger does not do his duty, he shall have three dozen himself.' Seeing he was inexorable, I broke from those who held me, dragged the scourge from the hands of the man who held it, and gave my unjust and cruel master the lashes he intended for me... and I thrashed him until he was quite disfigured: his face was sliced with the thongs; and had I got him now here before me, I would repeat the punishment...for to this ill-bred hound, to his cruelty, his utter want of all consideration for others, his avarice and despicable hypocrisy, (for he pretended to be a Christian, and read prayers night and morning to his household, to which, by the bye, if any neglected attending, he would be ordered three dozen lashes), may I attribute all my sufferings and every crime I have committed since. Such was my master, better known as Black Robberson. (*TAE*, pp. 79-80)

Whilst this is clearly Haydon once again venting his feelings toward George Augustus Robinson it does raise a more serious point. Ward has noted that flogging 'was a particularly efficacious means of producing bushrangers' and, pre-goldrush at least, most bushrangers were ex-convicts escaping 'harsh' masters.<sup>35</sup> The dehumanising of the individual at the hands of a cruel and corrupt system is a theme that was later to be explored in depth in Marcus Clarke's *His Natural Life* (1870-2) and James Tucker's *Ralph Rashleigh* (1929 but probably written in the 1840s).

Bayley has been falsely accused of every local atrocity, has killed only in self defence, and has done many good deeds: "I fear," said Slinger "you are the victim of a heartless and cruel system." (*TAE*, p. 81) Bayley is, however, still too bad to be allowed to live, although Haydon does permit him both to have his revenge on Robberson and to seek redemption. Having fought Robberson, and with both of them mortally wounded, Bayley offers to be reconciled:

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<sup>34</sup> This is clearly a reference to Robinson who had started life as a bricklayer.

<sup>35</sup> Ward, *The Australian Legend*, pp. 148 & 151.

“We are past hurting each other further now”, said Bayley, mournfully: “it is too late for anything but mutual forgiveness: let us forget the past, if we can; but if you feel any difficulties on that score,”...“remember it was you who helped to make me what I am.” (*TAE*, p. 163)

Robberson does feel ‘some difficulty’ and dies in great pain neither forgiving nor repenting and presumably, as far as Haydon was concerned, on his way to hell.

Bad bushranger Jarrol also dies. Coming across Raymond he recognises him as a competitor for the affection of Amy and attempts to kill him. He also tries to turn in Bayley and claim the reward but Bayley overpowers him and leaves him to Dodge, Slinger and Raymond. Jarrol escapes and is drowned. That these fictional bushrangers, as convicts, had to die was indicative of the emerging need for the convict past of New South Wales to be expunged and a more positive image developed.<sup>36</sup> This use of the dual presentation of the bushranger can be seen particularly in Rolf Boldrewood’s *Robbery Under Arms* (1881) which contrasts the honourable Captain Starlight with the evil Moran. Indeed, it is an idea that still finds resonance in present-day debates on Ned Kelly, which question whether he was a Robin Hood figure or merely a murdering outlaw.<sup>37</sup>

Big Mick’s appearance in the book is a recognition of the importance and prevalence of the Irish in Australia. Although Haydon’s portrayal of him as kindly, helpful and subservient to an English friend/master may have been an idealization, their sharing of the enterprise of empire might be seen as a way of cementing the Union by fostering a sense of Britishness only possible when away from Britain.<sup>38</sup>

Little need be said about the book’s hero, Raymond, or his sidekick Slinger. Virtually indistinguishable as characters, these two represent the desirable type of imperial stock. They are young, healthy, enterprising and ultimately prepared to settle in Australia. It is, however, Haydon’s treatment of Hugh Raymond that is the main reason for the book’s ultimate failure as an adventure/romance. Raymond is insufficiently challenged either by physical danger or moral dilemma to be a convincing hero and

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<sup>36</sup> Transportation to New South Wales ceased in 1840.

<sup>37</sup> Haydon refers to Bayley as ‘Captain’ a convention that can also be seen with Captain Starlight in *Robbery Under Arms*, Captain Touin in *The Recollections of Geoffrey Hamlyn*, and the real life Captains Moonlite and Thunderbolt. *The Oxford Companion to Australian Literature*, p. 138. The use of the title ‘Captain’ was a way of emphasising the romance of bushranging.

<sup>38</sup> Colley, *The Significance of the Frontier*, p. 19; For a discussion on the Irish-Australian hatred of the English see Ward’s chapter ‘Celts and Currency’ in *The Australian Legend*, pp. 46-70.

accordingly to fulfil the purpose of showing frontier to be the site of 'the most memorable adventures mankind has had in modern times'.<sup>39</sup>

### *Themes*

Cecil Hadgraft claims that there are three staple themes of early Australian fiction: convictism, pastoral life and bushranging.<sup>40</sup> To these can be added emigration and, a little later, gold. These themes were determined by the act of colonization that was particular to Australia and were all influenced by the relationship between the newcomers and their environment.

Despite the fact that Raymond and Slinger spend two years in Melbourne accumulating capital by land speculation which allows them to set up as Raymond & Co., merchants, this period is dealt with in just one paragraph. Like much of this type of literature, the book's setting and concerns were primarily rural rather than metropolitan. As Dixon points out, the literary imagination stimulated by the freedom, growth and expansion of colonial Australia concerned itself with 'bush travel, bivouacking, kangaroo hunting and other masculine themes [which] suggest the beginnings of a frontier mythology...emerging directly from life in Australia'.<sup>41</sup> To survive the challenge of the bush one must either be a native or an experienced bushman. Dodge is an example of the latter who learnt some of his skills from the Aborigines. Through him Raymond, Slinger and the reader learn such useful knowledge as how to gather water from the dew using a towel; how to light a fire so it cannot be seen; and how useful emu oil is for bruises and rheumatism.

The love interest in the form of Amy Leslie highlights rather than remedies the absence of women in such literature. The masculine nature of frontier activities meant the bush was no place for women and Amy remains in England throughout the action, a totally passive, voiceless character shunted between being duped by Jarrol and receiving the unwanted attention of his son, to being protected by Mr Raymond and ultimately being married to Hugh Raymond.

The idea that the bush has become so central to Australian literature, despite the fact that Australia is now, and almost always has been, a largely urban society, has its origins in notions that the Europeans found the landscape alien and inhospitable, and

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<sup>39</sup> Green, *Dreams of Adventure*, p. 130.

<sup>40</sup> Cecil Hadgraft, *Australian Literature: A Critical Account to 1955* (London, 1960), p. 40.

<sup>41</sup> Robert Dixon, 'Public and Private Voices: Non Fictional Prose', in Hergenhan (ed.), *The Penguin New Literary History of Australia*, p. 132.

that the difficulty of imposing their presence on it drove it deep into the Australian psyche. Moore also suggests that it is the relative youth of Australian literature which means that writers continue to be concerned with environment in a way that the literatures of older cultures are not.<sup>42</sup> Like most writers of the time, Haydon went to some length to describe the bush and, like many, he gave it an ambiguous character. Both sinister and full of promise, this duplicity in the textual representations of the Australian landscape remains a feature of Australian literature in the twenty-first century.<sup>43</sup> Such duplicity can be seen in the two following extracts:

Numberless specimens of the Australian Flora bloomed at their feet for which they knew no names but only that they were beautiful-

“Crimson buds, and white, and red,  
The very rainbow showers  
Had turned to blossoms where they fell,  
And strewed the earth with flowers.”

On one hand, several varieties of heath clothed a sandy hillock, whilst in an adjacent gully could be seen tree ferns rearing their graceful forms and giving a tropical character to the scene.

“Is not this an earthy paradise?” said Hugh.

“No:” replied the stranger solemnly, “for it has been stained with human blood.”

“I had forgotten that,” said Hugh; “why did you call it to my mind? Methought it was a spot whereon a man could dwell for his life, willingly resigning all thoughts of the busy world, and hold converse with the God who made it. – It is most lovely – I never remember experiencing such a feeling of happiness as I do now.” (*TAE*, pp. 75-6)

And again in:

They travelled in the midst of gloom, for the foliage of the lofty trees meeting far overhead prevented more than an occasional stream of sun-light falling upon the moist earth. The air was laden with the scent of musk which became most oppressive...Though the sun had risen some hours, yet the atmosphere was humid and unwholesome. The general silence which prevailed became painfully perceptible by the distinctness with which each drop of water could be heard as it fell on the underlying leaves, seemingly accompanied by tiny echoes. (*TAE*, p. 125)

The overt lyricism of the first extract provides a vision of a pastoral paradise albeit interrupted by the reminder that it has come with bloodshed. In the second there is a strong sense of menace. As will be examined further Haydon seems to have preferred

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<sup>42</sup> Moore, *Social Patterns in Australian Literature*, p. 10.

<sup>43</sup> McGregor, *Imagined Destinies*, pp. 13-14.

the first option and in so doing he was far from alone. However, there is still a certain amount of equivocation displayed even in the naming of the cattle station. Dodge is talking to Slinger:

“...What shall we christen it? You remember how hungry we were when we first came upon it. I like something expressive. What do you think of ‘Pinch-gut Slopes!’”(*TAE*, p. 187)<sup>44</sup>

Slinger feels it would be inappropriate for Mrs Raymond to write her letters from such a place so they agree on the more romantic native name ‘Lan-lan-borin’<sup>45</sup> though even this might have been a play on ‘land land boring’.

The *Oxford Companion to Australian Literature* notes that *The Australian Emigrant* stresses the egalitarian nature of Australian pioneering life, and Gunson comments on Haydon’s strong depiction of bush hospitality.<sup>46</sup> However, as it is such an important element of the bush ethos, something needs also to be said here about mateship. Haydon knew from personal experience, particularly with Jack Sanger during their time isolated on French Island, the strength of bond which could be forged in response to physical hardship and it is tempting to try and interpret the Raymond/Slinger relationship as an example of this. Yet such an interpretation must be resisted. Theirs was a friendship forged on the ship out and cemented through their business partnership in Melbourne. Often their manners and demeanour are those of gentlemen and certainly when they are asked to keep Bayley’s secret they give their ‘words of honour’ for Bayley has learnt ‘colonial oaths are of no value’. (*TAE*, p. 77) It is a reminder that Haydon was writing as the bush ethos was emerging but was not yet fully developed, and that gentlemanly codes of conduct were not lost overnight however much they were later disowned. This influence of the bond of the gentleman is overlooked by most commentators of colonial Australia and is missing from Russel Ward’s thesis with its focus on convicts, the working class and the isolated pastoral workers.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Haydon may have taken the name ‘Pinchgut’ from an earlier name for the island Fort Denison in Sydney Harbour, a place where convicts were sent on minimum rations.

<sup>45</sup> This is based on Lang Lang near present day Koo-wee-rup on the South Gippsland Highway and was a place through which Haydon had passed on his journey to Gippsland.

<sup>46</sup> *The Oxford Companion to Australian Literature*, p. 354; Gunson, *The Good Country*, p. 42.

<sup>47</sup> Ward, *The Australian Legend*, pp. 18-19. Ward acknowledges a middle-class influence arriving with gold-seekers and later immigrants but maintains its influence on an already fixed ‘bush’ outlook was minimal.



## *Humour*

Humour, the most intangible element of the text to assess, has an important function in *The Australian Emigrant*. Most notably it displays qualities which can now be considered quintessentially Australian. Jones and Andrews, in attempting to fix its origins, claim Australian humour is:

...deeply rooted in the disjunction of colonial life – English and Currency, upper class and lower class, old hands versus new chums, the bush versus the city, and an assertively male view of the world which sought to render women peripheral. These are contained within a still larger disjunction, the confrontation between European settlers and a land which seemed to undermine and deny all their expectation.<sup>48</sup>

Disjunction is the defining factor and it was a condition that for the emigrant commenced on the voyage out. Humour as a strategy for dealing with these disruptions manifested itself in satire, irony, irreverence, farce, tall tales, and tricks. The latter two are particularly prevalent in the character of Dodge with his long yarns and farcical tales of the tricks he employed to avoid the bailiffs. Moore adds to these elements a hardness of humour, a sardonicism, which has been forged by the harshness of environment.<sup>49</sup> Again, this can be viewed through Dodge and his faithful dog:

“Shoot her!” said Dodge, warmly, to a humane individual who counselled him to kill Lady on the plea that she was quite useless; “Shoot her! I’d rather stockwhip you.” (*TAE*, p. 190)

The ironic quality of Australian humour was also employed by Haydon though he tended to use it lightly rather than cynically. Dodge has offered Raymond and Slinger bush hospitality:

As they neared the “hospitable mansion”, the style of its architecture became fully developed. It was a square building of one storey. The four walls were raised some seven feet from the ground, and were composed of split slabs set upright about three inches in thickness, and many of them standing at least three inches apart. Dodge explained that he was particularly fond of air, and therefore he was rather glad that the green timber had shrunk considerably. (*TAE*, p. 99)

In a fashion similar to that seen in the shipboard journal, humour was a device Haydon used throughout to serve his reader with the more unpalatable aspects of coping in a new environment.

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<sup>48</sup> Jones and Andrews, ‘Australian Humour’, p. 62.

<sup>49</sup> Moore, *Social Patterns in Australian Literature*, p. 175.



Figure 6.11 'Slinger's daydream', Watts Philips, illustration from *TAE*, opp. p. 186.<sup>50</sup>

### Context

Though not published until 1854, Haydon's book was clearly conceived in pre-goldrush Australia. Preceded by a relatively small number of Australian works of fiction, it was written at a time when the majority of Australian literature was published outside Australia for a non-Australian audience.<sup>51</sup> This earliness suggests Haydon was not just following a literary tradition but was helping to establish it. The major 'Australian' works published prior to Haydon's were Charles Rowcroft's *Tales of the Colonies*

<sup>50</sup> The Chinese lettering and the word 'Twankey' on the tea-chest provide a neat reminder of the extent of imperial trade – tea came from China notwithstanding its quintessential Englishness.

<sup>51</sup> Here Australian literature of the period is taken to include works by those who wrote about Australia rather than just works by those who came from Australia. According to the *Annals of Australian Literature* there were only three other Australian novels published in 1854: *Lights and Shadows of Australian Life* by Ellen Clacy, *Gallops and Gossips in the Bush of Australia* by Samuel Sidney, and *Clara Morison* by Catherine Spence.

(1843) and *The Bushranger of Van Diemen's Land* (1846); Alexander Harris's *Settlers and Convicts* (1847) and *The Emigrant Family* (1849); and Thomas McCombie's *Arabin* (1850). James Tucker's *Ralph Rashleigh* is thought to have been written around the mid-1840s but was not actually published until 1929. Broadly speaking, all these works fit into the same genre as *The Australian Emigrant* and conform to Hadcraft's summary of such fiction:

The dilemma of invasion and expansion, and the tension between order and freedom which characterise this period of Australian literature, are epitomised in colonial drama with its mixture of neo-classical tragedy, romantic idealism, preoccupation with tyranny, liberty, law and conscience, ambivalent depiction of Aborigines, and its defence of individual liberty in a corrupt society.<sup>52</sup>

These books, even if not published in Australia, came directly out of Australia. However, Lansbury has argued that the most powerful evocations of Australia to be presented to readers actually came from English writers who had never been to Australia. These were Edward Bulwer-Lytton (*The Caxtons*, 1849); Charles Reade (*It is Never Too Late to Mend*, 1856); and Charles Dickens (*David Copperfield*, 1849-50 and *Great Expectations*, 1860-61). For Dickens, there are a variety of characters in a variety of books which suggest his attitude to Australia was variable, but it is Wilkins Micawber who provides the most emphatic example of one suffering pecuniary disaster in England but thriving in Australia.<sup>53</sup> Lansbury credits Samuel Sidney (whose work Haydon admired) as the major influence behind these writers' perceptions of Australia notwithstanding the fact he never actually set foot in that country.<sup>54</sup> Sidney contributed articles on Australia to Dickens's *Household Words* and accordingly reached a huge audience. His last work, *Gallops and Gossips in the Bush of Australia* (1854) (dedicated to Dickens) ends with the hero in a modest but comfortable, vine covered house. The message was:

Prosperity was assured in Australia, but not ostentation and inordinate wealth. So deeply was this image set in English literature that descriptions of the bush became stereotyped into set pieces of rustic simplicity where the settlers dwelt in Arcadian bliss.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Elizabeth Perkins, 'Colonial Transformations: Writing and the Dilemma of Colonization', in Hergenhan (ed.), *The Penguin New Literary History of Australia*, p. 151.

<sup>53</sup> Lansbury, *Arcady in Australia*, pp. 92-107.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74. Although descriptions of the rural idyll are common in this type of literature, that Haydon leaves his heroes in Australia was less typical as, for example, in *The Recollections of Geoffrey Hamlyn* and *Settlers and Convicts* where return to England is the goal.

This exactly describes Haydon's choice of ending. It is both melodramatic and sentimental and Haydon has ultimately opted for the bush as a pastoral Eden, and Australia as a place to prosper. It was a form of romanticism typical of the early nineteenth-century nostalgia for a passing way of life. This reactionary idealization of a return to the land was also tied in to the belief that this was a natural and God-ordained way of life and provided a path to redemption.<sup>56</sup> If this seems at odds with Haydon's already noted commitment to progress, it is also indicative of a tension within the imperial project that could be both progressive and nostalgic.<sup>57</sup>

Whilst Haydon's choice of endings may have been a vicarious literary piece of wish-fulfilment (and was far from the reality of his own Australian experience) the book's closure, coming as it does with domestic restraint, did match Haydon's life in England. Such an ending also points to ways in which, as Cannadine suggests, the Empire was a replication of home and was as much about the 'familiar and domestic' as the 'different and the exotic'.<sup>58</sup> Hence, Slinger's daydream (figure 6.11) is not a dream about homeland but about a home - one that can be constructed, or rather replicated, in Australia. It is an image that privileges ideals of home and family, settlement and future, which by the end of the book have been realised. Here again Haydon's work challenges Ward's portrayal of Australian masculinity with its emphasis on independence and exclusively male occupations and on friendships that were outside the domestic sphere.<sup>59</sup> On the other hand, frontier contact could be an affirmation of manhood, and it seems no coincidence that just at the point in his life when Haydon was settling down to domesticity he was reworking his colonial experience into a tale of heroic adventure.

In the closing pages of the book Haydon invited his readers to admire the industry and progress of his heroes. He evokes the cornucopian image of the cottage with garden: '...the English honeysuckle creeping round and almost hiding the burly stem of its Australian namesake.' (*TAE*, p. 190)<sup>60</sup> Not only has Arcady been found but improved upon by the introduction of British stock.

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<sup>56</sup> Lansbury, *Arcady in Australia*, p. 33.

<sup>57</sup> Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia*, p. 151. Some saw squatters as an impediment to agricultural advancement which should have progressed from pastoral to the cultivation of crops.

<sup>58</sup> Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, p. xix.

<sup>59</sup> Linzi Murrie, 'Australian Legend and Australian Men', in Richard Nile (ed.), *The Australian Legend and its Discontents* (St Lucia, Queensland, 2000), pp. 82-3.

<sup>60</sup> Lansbury, *Arcady in Australia*, p. 33. The strength of this image is suggested by Dickens's description in *Little Dorrit* of the tenement in Bleeding Heart Yard which is painted to look like a thatched cottage.

Haydon's own delight with Australian flora and fauna might have encouraged his evocation of a pastoral Eden, but at some level he was aware of the disparity between the imagined Australia and the reality. In his lecture he had warned against romanticising the bush:

I have heard romantic young ladies and gentlemen as well give glowing descriptions of the Backwoods and their inhabitants as they exist in their own warm imaginations. The cardinal error they fall into is in fancying they approach any thing near the reality. A poetical or theatrical shepherd for instance seated on a flowery bank in the regions of Arcadia with his crook, and his pipe; now listening pensively to the bleating of his flock and now wakening the echoes of the woods by strains of "most eloquent music" in honour of the [...] would scarcely be recognized as belonging to the same fraternity as his brother shepherd in Australia. As for his carrying a crook - he never heard of such. (*EL*, p. 23)

Despite this, the attraction for the rural idyll was irresistible and Arcady could be situated in Australia because by virtue of time and distance Australia existed in the past. Moreover, for those concerned with promoting emigration as a social remedy for England, Australia had to be given appeal and in particular divested of its convict past.<sup>61</sup> It is this that provided the motivation for Haydon to encourage the very 'cardinal error' he warned others against and to conform to a literary convention rather than the evidence of his own eyes.

### *Illustrations*

*The Australian Emigrant* is an illustrated novel and though this was a conventional form for the Victorians, it poses certain problems of interpretation for the modern reader that comes from the visual disruption to the text. By the time Haydon came to prepare his book for publication in 1853 Henry Hainsselin had left for Australia and Haydon was in the process of moving to London. The artist who provided the illustrations was Watts Philips, a former pupil of the great caricaturist (and illustrator for Dickens) George Cruikshank. Haydon had to pay the princely sum of £25 to Philips for the preparation of the etchings but again these were worked-up from original sketches made by Haydon.<sup>62</sup>

Five illustrations are incorporated into the book and one forms the title page; these are shown as figures 6.6 to 6.8. The choice of which parts of the text to present

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<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 30-1.

<sup>62</sup> Haydon's original sketch for figures 6.11 has survived, see Appendix III.

visually was indicative of the areas which the writer, in collaboration with the artist, wished to highlight. In this case, there is much repetition of the bearded-bushman with gun and cabbage-tree hat, displaying bush skills. This reflected the increasing popularity of images of bush life, exploration and bushranging that Smith has identified as becoming popular as the interior was being opened up by the heroic endeavours of exploration parties.<sup>63</sup> The title page (figure 6.5) shows the bushman contemplating the 16,000 miles between him and England. The 'Before' and 'After' figures at the top show how the young Haydon had been altered (and roughened) by his colonial experience, and he was clearly having a joke by putting the Australian Kangaroo (amusing) in place of the (regal) British Lion.<sup>64</sup> But even here Haydon was conforming to a coded artistic convention where the kangaroo stood for the exotic; the primitive native weapons juxtaposed against the guns suggested a means by which colonial progress could be measured; the tiny distant ship was affirmation of Britain's maritime power.<sup>65</sup> Such frontispieces, and Haydon's is typical in its content, had a 'synoptic function' which not only suggested the contents of the book but, often subliminally, acted to signify 'savagery', 'civilization' and 'progress', and thus reinforce an imperial agenda.<sup>66</sup>

Capturing the Australian landscape was difficult enough for those who had seen it. For Watts Philips, who had not, the result is some rather romanticized vegetation, a dog that looks like a fox, and some 'sit-up and beg' kangaroos. But these illustrations are also indicative of a shift in Haydon's personal interest. With their humour, and focus on the human character these illustrations point to the direction which Haydon's art was going to take in later life.

Haydon's appointment to Devon County Lunatic Asylum marked the end of his colonial career. His work there probably delayed the publication of his novel which by 1854 must already, in the goldrush era, have seemed dated. In an attempt to contemporize his work Haydon made one cautionary reference to gold as he congratulated his heroes on their 'immunity to gold fever'. (*TAE*, p. 192)

If unremarkable as a piece of literature *The Australian Emigrant* is noteworthy as an exemplar of its type. Indeed its date of publication places it amongst the vanguard

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<sup>63</sup> Bernard Smith with Terry Smith, *Australian Paintings 1788-1990*, p. 20.

<sup>64</sup> This image has been used by Monash University Library for the exhibitions 'Early Images of Australian Aborigines', 14 Oct. – 29 Nov. 1993 and 'Australian Fiction', 5 June – 29 Sept. 2003.

<sup>65</sup> Grant, *Representations of British Emigration*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

of Australian colonial fiction. Haydon was presenting a version of Australia which came partly from the reality of his own experience, and partly from his desire to balance a picture of Australia that was attractive to those who may actually wish to go there, and entertaining to those who merely wished to read about it. This, when further moulded by the literary conventions of the day, resulted in a book totally typical of its genre. The combined impact of such books came from the way in which they shaped perceptions of Australia until the imagined Australia of literature became more of a perceived reality than the real Australia. It was against this perception that the nationalist writers of the 1890s had to push in creating a harsher 'realist' vision of bush life. To this extent Haydon's work supports Lansbury's thesis that Australia was a construct of the English imagination but Lansbury's argument is based on the works of those who had never been there; Haydon had. That he was prepared to peddle the myth that the rural idyll, no longer available to the worker in an industrial Britain, was available in Australia suggests the myth held a powerful attraction. It also suggests atavism and nostalgia as impulses of empire.<sup>67</sup>

Despite the lightness of Haydon's book what lies at its core was to become the very essence of subsequent Australian literary concerns; the bush, the people produced by the bush and their specific qualities. A generation or so later the same material was to be reinterpreted by writers such as Marcus Clarke, Henry Lawson, Banjo Paterson, Joseph Furphy and Miles Franklin, and in the mid-twentieth century work of Australia's first professional literary critics was to crystallize into a national identity.

On a personal level Haydon was retrospectively revising his colonial experience into romance and adventure to reinvigorate his own masculine identity, and to stimulate the same in the imaginations of his readers. Moreover, if 'adventure' itself can be considered a celebration of empire his writing can be seen as serving a wider imperial cause.<sup>68</sup> Haydon invented an ending for his fictional self that he might (but only might) have liked in reality but the progression of his career was to take him even further away from that possibility.

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<sup>67</sup> Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, p. 127.

<sup>68</sup> Green, *Dreams of Empires*, pp. 38 & 96.



## Chapter 7: Bedlam: Madmen, Bad Men and Bureaucracy



Figure 7.1 Unknown artist, The Royal Hospitals of Bridewell and Bethlem, St George's Fields, Southwark, water-colour, reproduced with permission of Bethlem Royal Hospital Archives and Museum.



Figure 7.2 Photograph of George Henry Haydon c.1854, HC.

Haydon's movement from the furthest periphery to the very heart of Empire was completed with his arrival in London in 1853. On 4 April that year he was elected Clerk and Steward to the Royal Hospitals of Bridewell and Bethlem; receiving forty-one of the available fifty-eight votes, Haydon easily saw off the other applicants for the post.<sup>1</sup> Eight years had passed since Haydon's return from Australia and that phase of his life was receding through the distorting telescope of time. Haydon embraced London life with his usual enthusiasm whilst, as will be seen, still considering Australia to be a panacea.

The move to London was also the start of something else for Haydon: exactly nine months after his appointment to Bethlem his first child was born, a son named Walton in deference to the eighteenth-century angler Izaak Walton.<sup>2</sup> A second son, George, followed in 1858; Frank in 1861; a girl, Edith, in 1864; and finally a late baby, a boy named Risdon Rhys in 1873. It was fortunate for Haydon that his job came with a large house, and the children grew up playing in the hospital grounds.

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<sup>1</sup> Noted in 'Records relating to the Haydon Family', HC.

<sup>2</sup> Izaak Walton (1593-1683) author of *The Complete Angler* (1653).



Figure 7.3 Photograph of the Steward's house, Bethlem, HC.

### **The Royal Hospitals of Bridewell and Bethlem**

Bethlem Royal Hospital, from which the expression 'bedlam' derives, was a charitable organization dating back to 1247. Founded as the Priory of St Mary of Bethlehem by a wealthy alderman, Simon Fitz-Mary, its original location was on a site now occupied by London's Liverpool Street Station. In 1676 it moved to a site in Moorfield, and then from 1815 to 1930 it was located south of the River Thames and occupied a purpose-built building at St George's Field, Southwark.<sup>3</sup> This building, or at least the middle section, still stands and is now home to the Imperial War Museum.

The other half of the charitable foundation, the Bridewell, was a prison, or house of correction, until the beginning of the nineteenth century. It ran apprenticeships in various trades and this side of its work evolved into the King Edward's Schools in 1828. These schools, one for girls and one for boys, were moved to a rural site at Witley, Surrey, in 1870 but continued to fall under Haydon's stewardship.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Patricia Allderidge, *The Bethlem Royal Hospital: An Illustrated History* (Beckenham, 1995), pp. 3-6.

<sup>4</sup> The hospital moved again in 1930 to its present site at Monks Orchard in Beckenham, Kent. As part of the Maudsley NHS Trust it remains at the forefront of psychiatric medicine. The Trust's medical school, the Institute of Psychiatry, is now part of King's College, University of London.

Prior to 1852 Bethlem had been somewhat of a law unto itself as it was, unlike Devon County Asylum, exempt from the jurisdiction of the Commissioners for Lunacy. Although the move to the bespoke building in Southwark in 1815 had improved conditions, the asylum was still prison-like and employed physical restraints, purges, blood letting and other treatments which gave inmates cause for complaint. Complaint led to enquiry and by the early 1850s Bethlem was under increasing pressure to reform. The first few years of the nineteenth century had seen a rise in concern for the welfare of lunatics in part due to the illness, and controversial treatment, of George III who suffered periods of what was then thought to be insanity.<sup>5</sup> This, combined with a general increase in humanitarian concerns, stimulated an interest in the treatment of asylum patients and it was Edward Wakefield, father of the Australian colonization theorist Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who was among the chief proponents for reform. In particular, and with the help of illustrations by George Cruikshank (see Chapter 8), he highlighted and helped abolish the use of chains.<sup>6</sup>

Haydon's arrival at Bethlem coincided with two specific factors that were to greatly improve conditions within the hospital. First, in 1852 the Lunatics Care and Treatment Amendment Act was passed which finally brought Bethlem under the regulation of the Lunacy Commission, and subject to its biannual inspections. The second factor was the appointment of Doctor (later Sir) William Charles Hood as the first Resident Medical Superintendent at Bethlem. Hood favoured a more humane and therapeutic regime where straightjackets and restraints were largely dispensed with, and inmates were encouraged in activities to distract them such as painting, reading, knitting or playing chess in a calm and cheerful environment. Bars were removed from the windows, which were enlarged for additional light, and carpets, ornaments and flowers introduced to the wards.

As Steward, Haydon was responsible for overseeing the general housekeeping of the hospital with the assistance of a clerk. His experience at the Devon asylum would have proved useful as Bethlem's administration had to come into line with the requirements of the Lunacy Acts. Medical supervision was wholly the department of the doctors, but Haydon took a keen interest in the patients, encouraging them in their

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<sup>5</sup> Edward Geoffrey O'Donoghue, *The Story of Bethlehem Hospital from its Foundation in 1247* (London, 1914), p. 315. It is now thought that George III suffered from porphyria, a metabolic condition.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 320-2.

various pursuits, organizing entertainment, and supporting Hood's programme of modernization.

Shortly after Bethlem had relocated to Southwark two additional accommodation blocks had been built at the behest of the government to house the criminally insane. Although the criminal wards were attached to, and administered by Bethlem, they were not strictly speaking part of the hospital, as they were funded by the state and under the jurisdiction of the Home Secretary. By Haydon's time the propriety of housing criminals with the innocent but mentally disturbed was being called into question. Some criminal inmates found Bethlem to be a soft option naming it the 'Golden Bank'. This encouraged the feigning of insanity to avoid prison, the convict hulks, or transportation to Australia.<sup>7</sup> Doctor Hood was also keen to have the criminally insane dealt with separately, and in 1861 the criminal department was removed to the newly built Broadmoor Hospital in Berkshire.

Despite the common perception of Bethlem as a madhouse full of the worst cases, it was in fact a hospital primarily for patients who on admission were presumed to be curable. Although some did stay for longer periods, and there was limited provision for those classed as incurable, it was official policy to discharge those showing no sign of recovery after one year.<sup>8</sup> Accordingly, there was a fairly high turnover of patients and over the years Bethlem housed its share of the famous and infamous. These included Mary Nicholson who tried to assassinate George III in 1786, Jonathan Martin who was committed in 1829 after having set fire to York Minster, and, briefly, A. W. N. Pugin, designer of interior of the Houses of Parliament.<sup>9</sup>

One of Hood's aims at Bethlem was to raise the level of the social class of inmate. With the introduction of county asylums during the 1830s and 40s, paupers no longer needed to be admitted and Bethlem was able to focus on the middle class and skilled working class. Governesses, clergymen, clerks, artists and mechanics were amongst those who could not afford a private asylum but who would have found the conditions of a pauper asylum distressing, and it was from these ranks that Bethlem found its patients.<sup>10</sup> The improved comfort and furnishings increasingly reflected the standard of accommodation that these people would have been used to at home. Outings

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<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 344.

<sup>8</sup> Colin Gale and Robert Howard, *Presumed Curable* (Petersfield, 2003), p. 4.


<sup>9</sup> Alderidge, *The Bethlem Royal Hospital*, p. 24.

<sup>10</sup> Gale and Howard, *Presumed Curable*, p. 5.



and day trips were organized for the calmer inmates, and concerts and dances, to which members of the public were invited, became regular fixtures at Bethlem.<sup>11</sup>





**H<sup>c</sup> Royall Hospital of Bethlem,**  
Atte Seynt George hys Ffields, S.E.  
March 1, 1882.

**Y<sup>e</sup> SUPPER.**

**Y<sup>e</sup> Bille of y<sup>e</sup> Prettie Messes & Kickshades [With  
eliminations & emendations to meet y<sup>e</sup> present agri-  
culturall distresse Witthal] whereoff y<sup>e</sup> present worshipfull Companie are  
bidden toe partake, & that freele, according toe theyre good desyres & opportunities.**

*"Tis the Companie, & not the charge, that makes the feast,"—Isaac Walton.*

<p><b>Posies</b> of moste rare flowres. "Give me these flowres, do as I bid you." <i>Romeo &amp; Juliet</i>, act. v. s. 3.</p> <p><b>Oysters</b> "Which I with knife will open." <i>Merry Wives of Windsor</i>, ii. 2.</p> <p><b>Larks</b> (No Larks.)</p> <p><b>A Juggled Hare</b> (Gone away.)</p> <p><b>Golden Plovers</b> (Served on Pewter Platters.)</p> <p><b>Mutton, Saddle of</b> "What is this? Mutton?" <i>Taming of the Shrew</i>, iv. 1.</p> <p><b>Capons</b> "You cannot feed Capons so." <i>Hamlet</i>, iii. 2.</p> <p><b>Beef—Cold</b> "A dish that I do love to feed upon." <i>Taming of the Shrew</i>, iv. 3.</p> <p><b>Raised Pie</b> (Quite out of reach.)</p>	<p><b>Larded Pheasants</b> (Lar-de-dar!) (Feb. 1. Pheasant shooting ends.)</p> <p><b>Two Messes of Turtle</b> — "So turtles pair That never mean to part." <i>Winter's Tale</i>, iv. 3.</p> <p><b>Turkey</b> "The Turk with a most mighty pro- paration." <i>Othello</i>, i. 4.</p> <p><b>Ham</b> (A ham! excellent! a ham!)</p> <p><b>Cold Salmons</b> (What! at 4/6 per pound!)</p> <p><b>Woodcocks</b> "Near the Gin." <i>Twelfth Night</i>, ii. 5.</p> <p><b>Tipsy Cake</b> (Has been run in.)</p> <p><b>Olives</b> "The fig of Spain! very good." <i>Henry V.</i> iii. 6.</p>	<p><b>Posies</b> of sweete English Meadowe flowres. "The fairest flowres of the season." <i>Winter's Tale</i>, act iv. s. 5.</p> <p><b>Oysters</b> "Canst tell how an oyster makes his shell?" <i>Leare</i>, i. 5.</p> <p><b>Cabiarre</b> "To the General."—Well, leave it for the General.</p> <p><b>Quails</b> "—But screw your courage to the sticking place, and we'll not gwall." <i>Macbeth</i>, slightly altered to meet present necessities.</p> <p><b>Capons</b> "Break up this Capon." <i>Love's Labour Lost</i>, iv. 1.</p> <p><b>Mutton, of Sorts</b> "What's a joint of mutton or two?" <i>Henry IV.</i> ii. 4.</p> <p><b>Christmas Pie</b> (Quite out of season.)</p> <p><b>Beef and Mustard</b> —"You shall have the mustard, or else you get no heed." <i>Taming of the Shrew</i>, iv. 3.</p>
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BE PLEASED TO TURN OVER Y<sup>e</sup> LEAF, & YOU SHALL SEE MORE.

Figure 7.4 Humorous bill of fare designed by Haydon for the Bethlem Annual Ball, 1882, HC.

The writers Charles Dickens and George Augustus Sala (who will be dealt with in detail in Chapter 8) both expressed admiration for the improvements to Bethlem under Hood's regime,<sup>12</sup> but it would be wrong to overstate either the comforts of the place or its efficacy in curing patients. The causes and treatment of insanity were little

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 8. Gale and Howard suggest this was done to maintain the patients' connections with the outside world whilst at the same time bringing attention to the work of the hospital.

<sup>12</sup>'The Star of Bethlehem', *Household Words* XVI (15 August 1857), pp. 145-50; G. A. Sala, 'A Visit to the Royal Hospital of Bethlehem', *Illustrated London News*, 31 March 1860, p. 293.

understood, despite the fact that Hood, with his willingness to listen to patients, is credited with having taken the first tentative steps towards psychiatric modernity.<sup>13</sup>

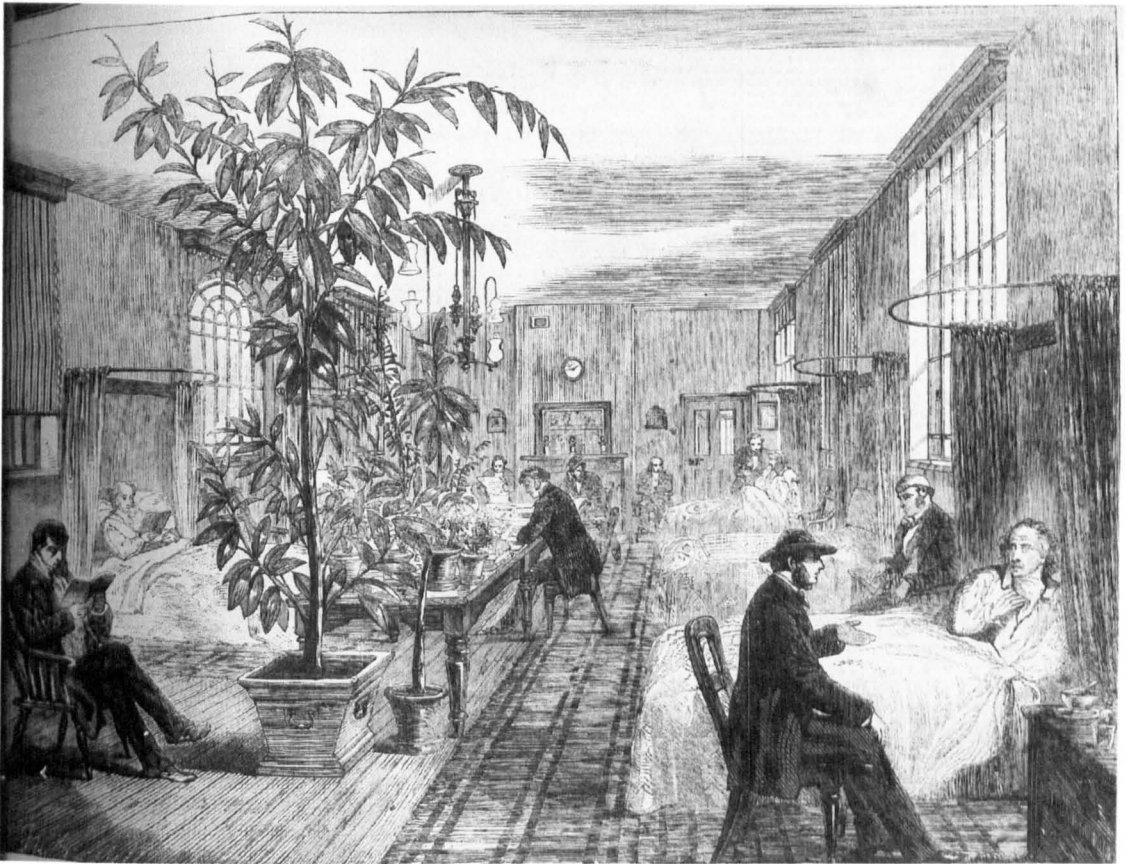


Figure 7.5 A ward in Bethlem from the *Illustrated London News*, 31 March 1860.

Under Hood, Bethlem had also become a training hospital for doctors specializing in insanity. Despite its fast turnover of patients, Bethlem was not a large asylum and housed only about two hundred and fifty inmates. It was this that allowed for a greater degree of personal contact between staff and patient, and enabled Haydon to get to know the patients well.

<sup>13</sup> Akihito Suzuki, 'Framing Psychiatric Subjectivity: Doctor, patient and record-keeping at Bethlem in the nineteenth century', in Joseph Melling and Bill Forsythe (eds), *Insanity, Institutions and Society, 1800-1914: A Social History of Madness in Comparative Perspective* (London, 1999), pp. 130-2.



## Richard Dadd

Despite his administrative role Haydon was a familiar figure on the wards. One patient in the criminal ward to whom Haydon was particularly drawn was the famous and infamous artist Richard Dadd. Dadd (1817-86) attended the Royal Academy's Schools in 1837 and was considered one of the most promising artists of his generation. In 1842 he accompanied his patron, Sir Thomas Phillips, on a grand tour of Europe, the Middle East and North Africa. By the end of this gruelling journey Dadd was showing signs of paranoid delusions and by the time he reached home in May 1843 his behaviour was unpredictable and sometimes violent. Dadd's descent into insanity culminated in a gruesome act of patricide on 28 August 1843. In his deluded state the artist had imagined his father to be the devil and felt compelled to take a knife to him during a trip to Cobham in Kent. Dadd fled to France but was apprehended attempting to cut another man's throat. Initially committed to an asylum in France, Dadd was brought back to England in 1844 where, unfit to stand trial, he was sent to the criminal lunatic asylum at Bethlem.<sup>14</sup>

In the period immediately after his crime and committal Dadd seemed unaware that he had been an artist, remaining unresponsive to the supplies of pencils, paint and canvas that were provided. However, within about a year of his incarceration at Bethlem, Dadd was again painting, probably encouraged by members of the staff who were keen that patients found forms of harmless amusement and occupation. Patricia Allderidge has speculated that Dr Edward Monro (Dadd's physician in Bethlem) may have been a key influence on Dadd's return to work. Moreover, Allderidge accounts for Dadd's increased output after 1853 by noting the arrival of Doctor Hood, and to the appointment in the same year of Haydon as Steward. Both men, claims Allderidge, were of a compassionate and cultured disposition and set about improving conditions throughout the hospital.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Patricia Allderidge, *The Late Richard Dadd 1817-1886* (London, 1974), pp. 28-30. Dadd's brother and sister also became insane and were committed to asylums.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.



Figure 7.6 Photograph, Richard Dadd at Bethlem, c.1856, reproduced with permission of Bethlem Royal Hospital Archives and Museum.

In 1854 Dadd started working on a piece called *Contradiction. Oberon and Titania* which he dedicated to Doctor Hood. The painting was to take four years to complete but during that time Dadd started on a second ‘fairy’ piece, *The Fairy Feller’s Master-Stroke*, which can now be seen hanging in Tate Britain. It was to be Dadd’s most famous work and that it was undertaken for Haydon is indicated by the *en verso* inscription ‘Painted for G. H. Haydon Esq. by Rd. Dadd quasi – 1855-64’.<sup>16</sup> Dadd was later to write a rambling poem called ‘Elimination of a Picture & Its Subject – called the Feller’s Stroke’ in which he explained that Haydon (the official person) had admired the work on *Oberon and Titania* and wished for something similar:<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 126. Allderidge, the curator of the Bethlem Royal Hospital Archives and Museum until 2003, thinks it more likely the work was started in 1857 or 1858.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128. Allderidge suggests ‘Elimination’ is a play on ‘illumination’ and ‘elucidation’. The extract is taken from Haydon’s copy of the original poem by Richard Dadd, HC.

... business  
Led, an official person to this sight  
Who with the picture pleased  
As liv' ere a jewel bright  
His mind of burden eased,  
To have the like  
Of which did strike  
At fancy's shrine well meant. (23-30)





Figure 7.7 Richard Dadd, *The Fairy Feller's Master-Stroke*, oil on canvas 54 x 40, with permission of ©Tate, London 2007.

The picture shows at its centre a bearded patriarch and a fairy woodman with axe raised to split a hazel nut with which to make Queen Mab's carriage. These figures are



surrounded by various gnomes, elves and fairies. It is a piece of work remarkable for its detail and fairy quality, and one that lends credence to the oft-suspected relationship between psychological instability and creative ability. Dadd left the unfinished painting with Haydon when he was transferred to the newly opened criminal asylum at Broadmoor in 1864, and Haydon, at some later date, inexplicably gave the painting away.<sup>18</sup> What to do with Dadd's work had become a problem for the authorities at Bethlem. Whilst Dadd freely gave his paintings to various members of staff, particularly Hood and Haydon, a decision was made in 1856 that no more should leave the hospital for fear they would find their way onto the market and cause embarrassment to Bethlem. This did not stop Haydon giving away *Pope's House* to a Mr Shields and *A Dream of Fancy* to his artist friend Myles Birkett Foster.<sup>19</sup>

Many patients at Bethlem were encouraged to paint as a form of recreation, or even with some early concept of therapy in mind. In 1900 the *Daily Graphic* reported on an exhibition put on at Bethlem. Included in this was a work by Haydon. Although a self-portrait it was entitled *Portraiture of Thomas Yates Steward of Bethlem Hospital 1683*, and the writer of the article clearly thought it was the work of one of the patients mistaking the pictures subheading, 'Taken from life Feb 25<sup>th</sup> 1874', as evidence of the painter's mental state rather than the joke on dates that Haydon meant it to be.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> The painting passed through a number of hands until donated to the Tate Gallery by the poet Sir Siegfried Sassoon.

<sup>19</sup> Allderidge, *The Late Richard Dadd*, pp. 116 & 124. At least three other works by Dadd were retained by Haydon and remained in the family until the 1950s.

<sup>20</sup> 'A Brave Show', *Daily Graphic*, 1900.



Figure 7.8 *Portraiture of Thomas Yates Steward of Bethlem Hospital 1683, 1874, ink and pastel, 21 x 30, HC.*

In July 2003 the play *Talk* by Mark Wilson was broadcast on BBC Radio 4.<sup>21</sup> This, set in Bethlem in the 1860s, represented Haydon (incorrectly) as a doctor, friend

<sup>21</sup> 'Talk,' *The Afternoon Play*, writ. Mark Wilson, dir. David Blunt, BBC Radio 4, 5 July 2005, repeated 5 January 2007.

and rival of the real Doctor Hood. Set against a background of the push for asylum reforms, it suggested Haydon was instrumental in aiding Richard Dadd to a partial recovery through his technique of talking to the patients. The play is fictitious; Haydon would not have been involved formally with the treatment of patients, and Dadd did not recover. Nevertheless, when asked about his inspiration for the character of Haydon, Wilson responded that he had been struck by Haydon's compassion, and from references to Haydon 'talking to patients' it was clear to him that Haydon was interested in them 'as people first and inmates second'.<sup>22</sup>

Another patient in whom Haydon took a particular interest was also his namesake. Frederick Wordsworth Haydon, son of the famous painter Benjamin Robert Haydon, had entered Bethlem in 1884 when showing signs of mental breakdown. It must have seemed a strange coincidence to find not only did he share a surname with the Steward but that their respective fathers had some years earlier corresponded over their ancestry. B. R. Haydon had approached Samuel Haydon senior in Exeter in 1841 seeking information and enquiring whether they had common forebears. The two men must have hit it off as B. R. Haydon sent Samuel sketches of his paintings *The Great Apostle* and the *Anti-Slavery Society Convention, 1840*, a subject close to Samuel's heart.<sup>23</sup> B. R. Haydon's other son, Frank Scott Haydon, had continued this correspondence with George Henry Haydon during the 1870s. The conclusion was that, although not directly related, they were probably different branches of the same wider Devon family. Sadly B. R. Haydon's branch did not thrive. The artist himself, though highly respected, sorely felt the lack of appreciation for his work and his lack of financial success; he committed suicide in 1848. Frank Scott committed suicide in 1887, and Frederick Wordsworth died in Bethlem in 1886.

### Edward Oxford

Like Dadd, Edward Oxford was also an inmate of the criminal department at Bethlem. On the evening of 10 June 1840 (when Haydon had been on the voyage to Port Phillip), seventeen year old Edward Oxford had raised two pistols and fired a shot from each at Queen Victoria whilst she and Prince Albert were taking their regular carriage ride along Constitution Hill. The Royal carriage briefly stopped then proceeded on its way, the Queen and Prince shaken but not hurt. Oxford made no attempt to flee the scene and

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<sup>22</sup> Mark Wilson, 'Re: *Talk*', e-mail to Katharine Haydon, 20 July 2005.

<sup>23</sup> Samuel Haydon, letter to George Henry Haydon, 26 August 1861, HC.



admitted to passers-by that he was the culprit. He was arrested and the following month tried for High Treason, the penalty for which was death.<sup>24</sup>



Figure 7.9 Artist's impression of Edward Oxford firing at the Queen, reproduced with permission of Bethlem Royal Hospital Archives and Museum.

Oxford was the first (but not the last) person to have made an attempt on Victoria's life. The case of the Queen against Oxford opened at the Old Bailey on 9 July 1840 before Lord Denman. Sidney Taylor, counsel for the defence, offered two pleas on behalf of his client; the pistols were neither loaded nor directed at the Queen, and, in any case, Oxford was at the time of committing the offence of unsound mind. On the first point there was in fact evidence to suggest the guns had been loaded, particularly as Oxford on his arrest had been heard to ask whether the Queen had been hurt, but no bullets were ever found. On the question of Oxford's insanity the defence was on surer ground. What emerged at the trial was the picture of a strange, lonely boy whose father and paternal grandfather had both shown signs of mental instability. His grandfather had spent time in a lunatic asylum, and his father had been disposed to violent episodes and

<sup>24</sup> State Trials Committee, *Reports of State Trials: New Series 1820-1815*, vol. IV (eds), J. E. D. Wallis & John Macdonald (London, 1970), transcript of the trial of 'The Queen Against Oxford', pp. 498-556.

strange behaviour which included bringing his horse into the house. Oxford, though a bright boy, had been unable to settle at school. He was prone to fits of weeping, violent rages and sudden laughter. Although his behaviour continued to be odd he was sufficiently stable to hold down a job and shortly prior to the incident had been working at the *Hog in the Pound* public house in Oxford Street.

Further proof of Oxford's insanity came when his room was searched. Among items which included a sword, pistol bags, and black crape for hiding the face, were found the rules for a secret society called 'Young England' together with a list of members and some correspondence. All were in Oxford's handwriting. Despite rumours of Irish links it emerged that Oxford was the sole member of this society and was feeding his fantasy life by sending letters to himself. These facts, together with the medical evidence offered by expert witnesses, enabled the jury to justify reaching the verdict that Edward Oxford was 'guilty of discharging the contents of two pistols at Her Majesty...and that the prisoner was of unsound mind at the time of committing the offence.'<sup>25</sup> (They remained undecided as to whether the pistols were loaded.) Accordingly, Oxford was sent to Bethlem.

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<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 554.

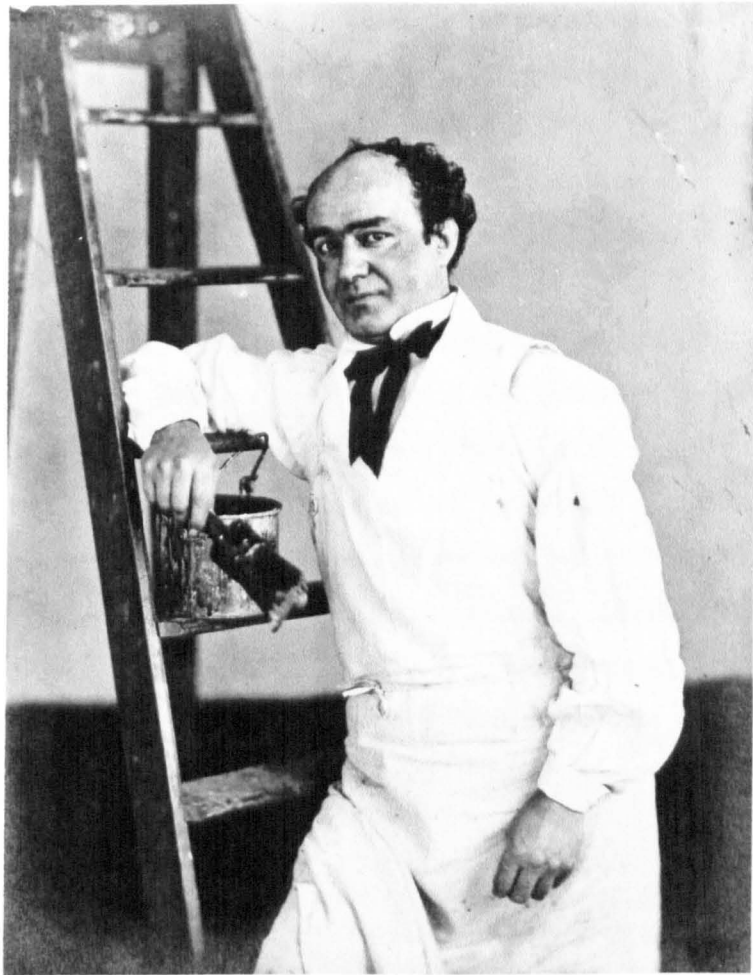


Figure 7.10 Photograph of Edward Oxford in Bethlem c.1857, reproduced with permission of Bethlem Royal Hospital Archives and Museum.

By the time of Haydon's arrival at Bethlem Oxford had already served some thirteen years. Despite his being a criminal patient, good behaviour had allowed Oxford to benefit from the improvements in Bethlem. He was able to knit, learn foreign languages and the violin, and become an expert chess player. He also undertook house painting within the hospital and learned how to grain woodwork.<sup>26</sup> Along with the other criminal inmates Oxford was despatched to Broadmoor in 1864 and Haydon might have expected to hear no more of him. However, in 1867 Oxford, having spent a total of twenty-eight years behind bars and walls, was released.

The release of the criminally insane was the gift of the Home Secretary acting on behalf of Her Majesty and, though not common, was occasionally done, particularly when the criminal patient had displayed the characteristics of 'sane' conduct measured

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<sup>26</sup> Criminal Lunatics 1816-1850, CBC/2, pp. 52-53, BRH cited in F. B. Smith, 'Lights and Shadows in the Life of John Freeman,' *Victorian Studies* 30.4 (1987), pp. 52-3.

by quietness, industry and co-operation with the day-to-day domestic arrangements.<sup>27</sup> Oxford, probably always sane, had been an exemplary patient but his release was to come with a price: he had to leave the country. The occasion was noted in the *Evening Standard* of 17 November 1867 which commented that it was both merciful to Oxford that he was released, and to the Queen that he should be prohibited from remaining in, or visiting, England.<sup>28</sup>

How much influence Haydon had in determining Oxford's place of exile is not known. However, records at Broadmoor show that it was Haydon who paid Oxford's £43 18s fare for his voyage into exile and that the place of exile was none other than Melbourne.<sup>29</sup> Somewhat appropriately, in view of the object of Oxford's crime, Melbourne was no longer part of New South Wales but had become the capital of Victoria. Haydon's payment was either an act of extraordinary generosity (his income at the time was only £350 per annum<sup>30</sup>), or he was merely passing on funds from elsewhere, but Oxford seemed in no doubt as to whom his benefactor was and wrote to Haydon from Broadmoor on 25 November 1867:

I embark on the 27<sup>th</sup> inst. for my new home, and I shall take with me a grateful remembrance of all the kindness I have received at your hands ever since it has been my good fortune to be known to you.<sup>31</sup>

Two days later, Oxford, like Haydon all those years before, sailed from Plymouth on a ship bound for Australia. In a poignant note to Haydon just prior to departure he wrote:

This is the first independent act of my new existence. Last night for the first time for nearly 28 years I slept, or rather went to bed, with the key of the bedroom door on my side.<sup>32</sup>

Oxford had promised to write further once he was settled in his 'new home' but it would be some time before Haydon learnt of Oxford's fate and this subject will be returned to at Chapter 9.

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<sup>27</sup> Roger Smith, *Trial By Medicine* (Edinburgh, 1981), pp. 23-4.

<sup>28</sup> 'The Story of Edward Oxford', *Evening Standard*, 17 November 1867.

<sup>29</sup> At the time of writing the archives at Broadmoor were closed and this information has been obtained via the Bethlem archives.

<sup>30</sup> 'Salaries of Officers, Bethlem and Bridewell Hospitals', 1869-70, HC.

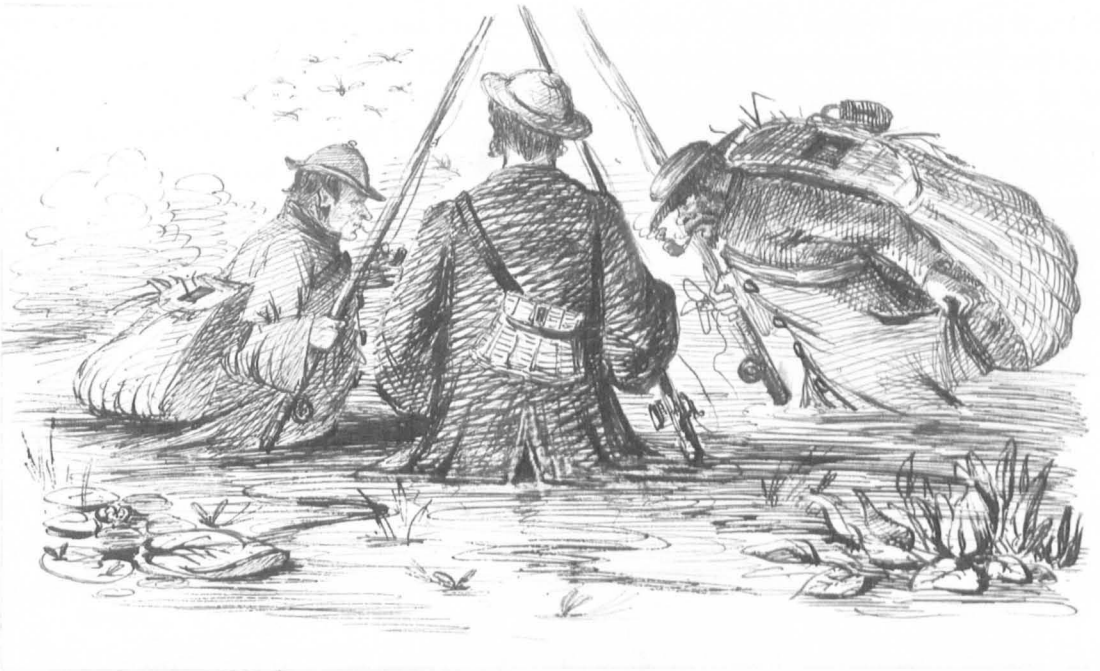
<sup>31</sup> Edward Oxford, letter to George Henry Haydon, 25 November 1867, Oxford MS 243, NLA.

<sup>32</sup> Edward Oxford, letter to George Henry Haydon, 27 November 1867, Oxford MS 243, NLA.

## Samuel Phelps

Whilst Haydon's life outside Bethlem will be dealt with in more detail in the next two chapters, it is pertinent to mention here another occasion on which Haydon employed Australia as the solution to a problem.

It was probably through his passion for fishing that Haydon forged a friendship with one of the greatest Shakespearian actors of the day, Samuel Phelps (1804-78). The two would often go on trips together particularly to Farningham in Kent, Phelps' favourite fishing spot. As a tribute to their friendship and the happy days spent fishing Haydon produced a book of sketches, *A Christmas Book of Midsummer Doings* (1863), and dedicated it to Phelps.<sup>33</sup>



“One more unto the Breach Dear Friends, Once More”  
Strange flies upon the water.

Figure 7.11 From *A Christmas Book of Midsummer Doings*, 1863, 23 x 14, HC.

A friend of Charles Dickens and Douglas Jerrold (who had reviewed *Australia Felix* in 1846),<sup>34</sup> Samuel Phelps also managed the Sadler's Wells Theatre and Haydon added the dramatic arts to his list of interests. Though much the elder man, Phelps in his letters addressed Haydon as ‘Dad’ and signed himself ‘your awful son’. Clearly aware of a kind of role reversal in their relationship, it was Phelps who sought support from Haydon in 1867, the year in which he lost both a much-loved wife and his eldest son.

<sup>33</sup> The original book was returned to Frank Haydon by Samuel Phelps's nephew in 1913, HC.

<sup>34</sup> Douglas Jerrold (1803-57), playwright, journalist and critic.

His second son died in 1870, and when he saw his third son heading the same way he turned to Haydon for help:

I am so ill - never so shattered with this last shock that I am afraid that it will bring on some fatal termination. I am so convinced now that Sam's is one of those horrible cases in which the craving for drink amounts to disease, that he can no more help himself than he could ward off an attack of fever or any other complaint. Are there not medical men who take charge of such cases, with one of whom I could place him for a certain time? I will write as you suggest, but it is useless. I would go home but I know and feel certain that I should have a fatal attack of some sort. My state at this moment is absolutely pitiable. Is there no possibility of sending him abroad - sending him on a long voyage? If I turn him out (he has come home without a rag to his back) and where is he to go? When the fit comes on him, that is the desire for drink, I am convinced he is insane. Poor Edward was the same in degree - and I don't think Robert was free from it. Some infernal ancestor of mine has transmitted the disease and it breaks out like gout or any other hereditary trait. Can you get any man for money to be constantly with him for the present - to prevent him pawning or taking any thing from the house or otherwise committing himself until (if my brain will let me) I can devise something. If you can act for me for a few days I will sanction any thing you may think fit to do - at present I can write no more.<sup>35</sup>

For Haydon the solution was obvious: the troubled young man must be sent to Australia. It appears Haydon wasted no time in arranging for this to happen as, a little over three months later, Phelps wrote:

I am acting to tremendous good house and am tolerably well. I suppose about this [time] my unfortunate boy is about landing in Australia. Do you know if the owners receive telegrams of the ship's arrival? It would be a relief to me to know.<sup>36</sup>

It is hard to imagine that Haydon could have thought Australia would provide salvation, or even a safe haven, to an unsupervised alcoholic and, as in the case of Edward Oxford, it calls into question whether Haydon saw Australia as a dumping ground for life's failures, as a place for fresh starts, or indeed both. Perhaps he merely thought that those on a course of self-destruction were better left to do it out of sight and far away from loved ones. In this he may have been remembering his own brother, Edward, who had been despatched to South Australia in 1849 following some unspecified misdemeanour. Though one might have imagined that a brother in South Australia would have been a welcome link for Haydon, there is no evidence the rift between the two brothers was

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<sup>35</sup> Samuel Phelps, letter to George Haydon, 23 June 1874, HC.

<sup>36</sup> Samuel Phelps, letter to George Haydon, 4 October 1874, HC.

ever healed. The family records remain silent on how Edward Haydon fared in Australia; presumably it was not very well as his parents were notified of his death in Adelaide Hospital in 1858, unmarried, at the age of only twenty-seven.<sup>37</sup> What happened to Samuel Phelps junior is also unrecorded although it appears he was still alive in 1886.<sup>38</sup>

### Red tape

Whilst life for the patients at Bethlem had substantially improved under Hood's reforms, the increasing bureaucracy imposed on the hospital by the Lunacy Commission has not only added to the amount of paperwork but also, in Haydon's view, delayed the admission of patients who needed treatment. Venting his frustration, Haydon wrote and illustrated a satirical sketch entitled *Red Tape*. This was the story of Harry Crankum, a fictitious patient who on going mad was committed to the (also fictitious) private asylum of Rackem House. Haydon gave an unflattering critique of the dubious qualifications of the medical staff and their methods of treatment. Crankum is saved because, despite the unfathomable paperwork involved, he was admitted to Bethlem from where he was later released cured. Haydon's exasperation with officialdom can be seen in his version of an edict sent from the Lunacy Commission at Whitehall Place:

#### Circular no 2186541

Wanted – By return of post. An immediate return of all other returns, specifying all those not returned, and those not likely to be returned and the dates when ordered. State also who was who, what what, and which which, & why this was and when; also if either was which and which was who and whether they were the others or somebody else was nobody, how long everybody else has been insane, who discharges the remainder, with other like or dissimilar particulars. Specify particularly their present state of mind and your own condition.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Death Certificate of Edward Haydon, 29 March 1858, HC. Dropsy was given as the cause of death but this actually refers to the symptom of swelling rather than the illness. The HC contains a money order to be drawn on the Union Bank, Adelaide for £30 dated July 1859 which suggests that Samuel Haydon, aware that Edward was ill, was sending money. It would have arrived too late.

<sup>38</sup> W. May Phelps and J. Forbes-Robertson, *The Life and Works of Samuel Phelps* (London, 1886), p. 78.

<sup>39</sup> George Henry Haydon, *Red Tape*, 1858, p. 21, HC.





'Most disrespectfully dedicated to Red Tapists in general and to those of Whitehall Place in particular'

Figure 7.12 From *Red Tape*, 1859, 14 x 11, p. 2, HC.

Haydon's particular concern was the complexity of the admissions procedure necessary for a person to be detained in 'legal confinement' which may have delayed a patient being admitted. He pleaded for 'Humanity before Red Tape'.<sup>40</sup> Possibly it was the need to negotiate this legal minefield that had encouraged Haydon to qualify as a barrister. He was a student at the Middle Temple and was called to the Bar in 1865.<sup>41</sup>

Haydon may well have found the amount of paperwork at Bethlem burdensome but wrongful incarceration in lunatic asylums was a deep-seated fear within the psyche of Victorian society. The diagnosis of what constituted insanity was highly subjective and open to abuse from those who wanted to lock away an unwanted spouse, or from scheming relatives who wished to benefit financially from having a family member committed. There was a perception, supported by some reports in the press, of collusion

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>41</sup> At this time admission to the Bar was not by way of exam but it was necessary to eat in hall at an Inn of Court a certain number of times over a period of three years and, assuming your character was satisfactory and the senior lawyers approved you, you were then called to the Bar. Haydon was a member of the Middle Temple and the South-Eastern Circuit.

between relatives, doctors and asylum owners. Such motives suited the owners of the private asylums that flourished in the second half of the nineteenth century who wished to keep their asylums full and needed a supply of patients. Bethlem, as a charity with no need to seek patients, was really outside this kind of abuse but was nevertheless subject to the increasing calls for the tightening of legislation.<sup>42</sup>

Railing against bureaucracy in general was a fashionable cause amongst mid-nineteenth-century commentators, and Haydon's mockery in *Red Tape* is very similar to Dickens's send up of the Circumlocution Office in *Little Dorrit* (1857) which satirizes the incompetence and corruption of the Civil Service.<sup>43</sup> This was part of a wider critique of aristocratic sinecures and support of meritocracy for the Civil Service evident in the Northcote-Trevelyan Report of 1854 and, seen in this context, it is understandable why it might have engaged Haydon. One might also question whether Haydon's experience in Australia of an environment free from established institutions might have informed his views.

Charles Hood's period in charge at Bethlem from 1853 to 1862 is generally seen as a golden age in the reform of the asylum, but Haydon was to see a number of medical staff come and go during his long stewardship. Hood was succeeded by William Helps who died in office in 1865. Then came William Rhys Williams after whom Haydon named his last-born child. George Savage took over as Resident Physician following his promotion from Assistant Medical Officer in 1879 when that position was taken by W. Ramsden Wood. Wood, a good friend of Haydon, soon resigned to emigrate to Australia and, although there is no evidence to prove it, one can sense Haydon's hand in this.<sup>44</sup> The last Resident Physician that Haydon served with was R. Percy Smith. Despite the differing styles of the various doctors, Haydon managed to remain on friendly terms with all of them, sharing with Hood, Wood and Savage the same Masonic lodge and an interest in fishing. Haydon's long term in office provided a welcome continuity in the hospital's administration,<sup>45</sup> and in 1888 he was thanked for his 'valuable hints, and his ever kindly desire to make everything work smoothly in the

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<sup>42</sup> Peter McCandless, 'Liberty and Lunacy: The Victorians and Wrongful Confinement', in *Madhouses, Mad-Doctors, and Madmen: The Social History of Psychiatry in the Victorian Era* (ed.), Andrew Scull (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1981), pp. 339-61.

<sup>43</sup> Charles Dickens, *Little Dorrit* (1857; London, 1998), p. xiv. Dickens felt so strongly on the subject that he joined the Administrative Reform Society in 1855.

<sup>44</sup> Ramsden Wood must have returned from Australia as by 1891 he was working at the Priory Hospital, Roehampton.

<sup>45</sup> Jonathan Andrews, Asa Briggs, Roy Porter, Penny Tucker and Keir Waddington, *The History of Bethlem* (London, 1997), p. 518.

hospital.' Doctor Smith went on: 'His experience from over 35 years' residence is so great that his advice comes more in the light of that of a father than a colleague.'<sup>46</sup>

Maintaining a good relationship with all the doctors must have been a feat of diplomacy, especially during Savage's term. Though a vigorous and amiable man, Savage attracted a certain amount of controversy which on occasions spilled over into the press. He became well-known for his opinions on the Jack the Ripper case, and was in later life doctor to Virginia Woolf.<sup>47</sup> Under Savage's regime the use of physical restraints again increased. This partly reflected Savage's own approach and partly a more general trend in psychiatric care.<sup>48</sup> Russell points to other backward steps in conditions at Bethlem under Savage with the increased use of seclusion and the force-feeding of patients.<sup>49</sup> Haydon's time as Steward of the Devon County Lunatic asylum had been spent under Doctor John Bucknill who was a staunch and outspoken advocate of treating patients without recourse to physical restraints, and was often critical of both Savage and Bethlem.<sup>50</sup> Nevertheless, on a personal level Haydon remained close to both his old mentor and to Doctor Savage. Like other asylums Bethlem also saw an increase in the use of drugs, though often these were merely an alternative form of restraint when used as sedatives rather than cures. In *Red Tape* Haydon praised the improvements in asylum conditions and medical treatment and illustrated these developments with this sketch:

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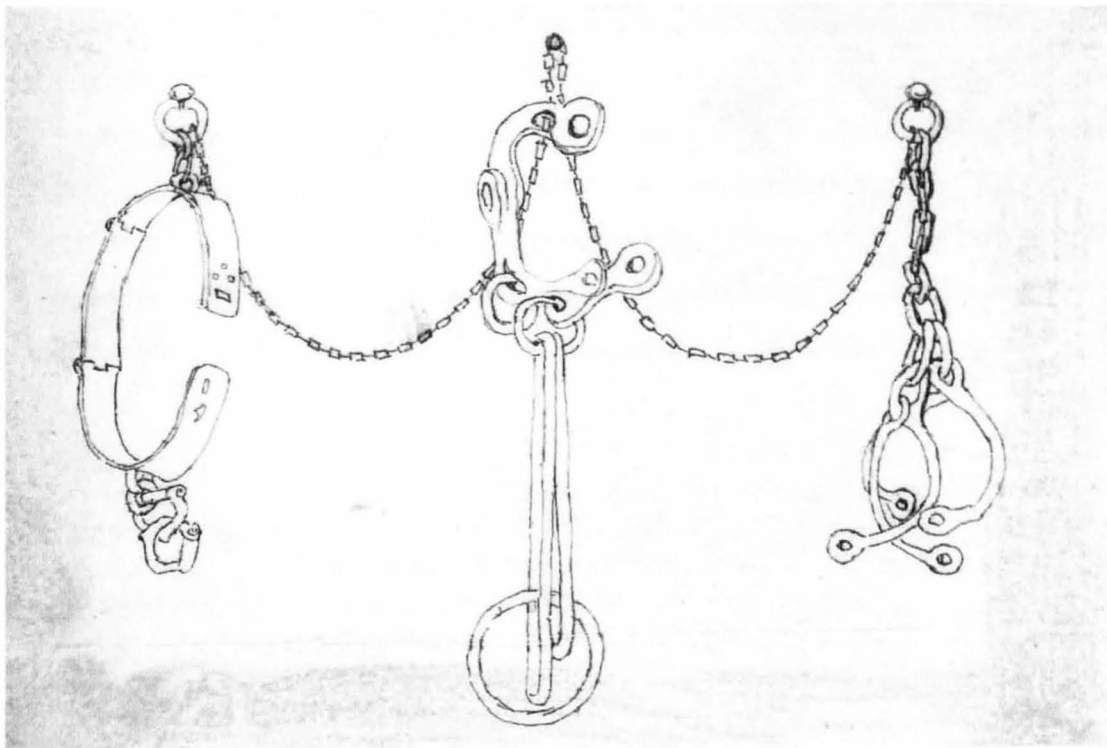
<sup>46</sup> *Report to the President, Treasurers and Governors of the Royal Hospital of Bethlem, 1888*, BRH.

<sup>47</sup> 'Sir George Henry Savage' (1842-1921), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. 2004. Woolf resented the rest cure Savage prescribed and used him as the basis for her unflattering portrayal of the nerve specialist Sir William Bradshaw in *Mrs Dalloway*.

<sup>48</sup> Andrews, *et al.*, *The History of Bethlem*, pp. 521-4.

<sup>49</sup> David Russell, *Scenes from Bedlam: A History of Caring for the Mentally Disordered at Bethlem Royal Hospital and the Maudsley* (London, 1997), p. 158.

<sup>50</sup> Bucknill was a governor of Bethlem but, as one of about a hundred, he had no say in the day-to-day running which was delegated to a sub-committee.



The old mode of treatment by iron, as practised by the faculty 1757.



The modern forms in which iron should be administered 1858.<sup>51</sup>

Figure 7.13 From *Red Tape*, 1859, 17 x 11 & 17 x 7, p. 7, HC.

Sadly for Haydon the treatment of madness took on an all too personal aspect when he admitted one of his own sisters, Anna Maria, to the hospital as a private patient in 1866. As a school mistress in Plymouth, Anna Maria Haydon began suffering from anxiety

<sup>51</sup> Russell, *Scenes from Bedlam*, p. 156. Bromides had been introduced as chemical restraints in 1857.

and delusions. Periods of calm were punctuated by violent outbursts and Anna Maria never recovered, dying in Bethlem in 1899.<sup>52</sup>

Apart from Haydon's satirical send-up of the Lunacy Commission in *Red Tape*, his personal views on asylum politics as well as medical practices and the various controversies that Bethlem attracted remain unrecorded.<sup>53</sup> Row, debate and criticism did not come naturally to Haydon. His comments to his sister Fanny in 1889 also suggest he was unstirred by politics although the following perhaps indicates he was still interested in imperial unity:

Why you are getting quite a politician which is more than I am. All I can call myself is an Anti-Gladstonian Unionist. Old man has made a dreadful hash of it and all the other parties must join and see that law and order is established again in Ireland in spite of Parnell and his following. These are my politics at present.<sup>54</sup>

By the 1870s Bethlem was under increasing pressure to move out of London, especially as St Thomas's Hospital was looking for a new home and had designs on Bethlem's site. The move was resisted, although in 1870 a convalescent home was built in the grounds of King Edward's Schools at Witley to provide a country environment for those patients on the road to recovery. In 1882 Bethlem for the first time started taking paying patients. Again, this was to attract those from a class of person with some means but who could not afford a private asylum. This involved Haydon in considerably more administrative work, and in recognition of this he received an honorarium of two hundred guineas in 1888.

In 1914 Edward O'Donoghue the clergyman at Bethlem published a history of the hospital and expressed a hope that the bundle of Haydon's letters 'delightfully illustrated' might be printed. The whereabouts and contents of those letters are not known but they led O'Donoghue to hope a biography of Haydon would be prepared. He must have known something of Haydon's Australian connection as he concluded his comments on Haydon with: 'It may be said of him that he left his mark on two worlds.'<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Patients' casebooks 1866-99; Notice of Death 26 September 1899, BRH.

<sup>53</sup> It is not clear for whom Haydon wrote *Red Tape*. A collection of articles, notes and pictures in a notebook entitled 'A History of Bethlem Royal Hospital', HC, suggest Haydon may have contemplated writing a history of the hospital.

<sup>54</sup> George Henry Haydon, letter to Frances Haydon, 21 January 1889, HC.

<sup>55</sup> O'Donoghue, p. 416.

Regicides, patricides and suicides; these were amongst the inmates of Bethlem with whom Haydon had daily contact. With the high walls and locked doors of the asylum one wonders whether Haydon saw any irony in the fact that the course of his life had led him from one type of prison to another. The subject of New South Wales as a penal colony is (with the exception of *The Australian Emigrant*) entirely absent from Haydon's writings and comments. It is true that the colony had ceased to take convicts the year Haydon had arrived there (and Port Phillip had never taken them) but, even so, the 1841 Census showed a figure of thirty-nine per cent convicts or emancipist in New South Wales as a whole.<sup>56</sup> It is inevitable that Haydon must have met some, and indeed it is known that there were government men on the journey to Gippsland.

In his work in promoting emigration Haydon was understandably unlikely to have highlighted the convicts as an asset of the colonies. Yet it has been noted that in his fictional portrayal of convicts (see Chapter 5) Haydon presents Bayley as an ambiguous character; he is a victim of the system and the subject of some sympathy. Is it possible that Haydon's experience of the convicts or ex-convicts in Australia informed his approach to the criminal inmates at Bethlem? The question is unanswerable but nevertheless worth raising because of Haydon's actions in relation to Edward Oxford, Samuel Phelps Junior and others. Did Haydon see Australia as a place of disgraced exile or a place of redemption, or, as the two are not mutually exclusive, both? He clearly still equated it with a place to which people were 'sent', and it is likely that he still imagined the frontier experience to be an invigorating, healthy and testing one.

Haydon's long and stable term of office at Bethlem seems to contrast to his varied and itinerant Australian career. He was supported by a wide range of interests and friendships outside the hospital and, as will be analysed in Chapter 9, he was also sustained by memories of his youth in Australia.

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<sup>56</sup> Cited in Ward, *The Australian Legend*, p. 15.

## Chapter 8: Artists and Writers



### EASIER SAID THAN DONE

*Little Angler (to gigantic Friend, whom he'd invited for a day's Trout Fishing)* "KEEP BACK, FOR GOODNESS' SAKE! FOUR POUNDS IF HE'S AN OUNCE! - THE ONLY WAY IN THIS CLEAR WATER (THERE HE IS! - AH! TUT-T-T- HE'S OFF AGAIN-) IS TO KEEP OUT O' SIGHT!"

Figure 8.1 Charles Keene, 'Easier Said Than Done', *Punch Almanack*, 1885.



Standing on a Melbourne street in 1844 Haydon had admired some sketches by the illustrator George Cruikshank on display in a shop window and had noted in his journal that, although good, they were not as good as Cruikshank's sketch of 'Fagin the Jew in the condemned cell in *Oliver Twist*'.<sup>1</sup> Haydon could not then have imagined that in later life he would come to count Cruikshank as a close friend. Nor could he have known that in the second half of his life he would mix with some of the leading illustrators and journalists of the day, as well as contribute to one of the most popular contemporary publications.

By the time Haydon arrived in London in 1853 his elder brother Samuel Bouverie Haydon was already established as a sculptor. Samuel had initially trained as a solicitor but had subsequently followed his vocation and studied art under E. H. Baily R.A.<sup>2</sup> His early career was promising and he exhibited yearly at the Royal Academy from 1843 to 1865. However, he was to be neither prolific nor financially successful.<sup>3</sup> The artistic set in which Samuel Haydon moved was that of the Pre-Raphaelites. He shared a studio with William Rossetti and was a frequent visitor to the home of William's brother, poet-painter Dante Gabriel Rossetti, in Chelsea.<sup>4</sup> He was also close to the Pre-Raphaelite sculptor Thomas Woolner who had spent two years practising his craft in Australia from 1852 to 1854, and who inspired Ford Maddox Brown's emigration painting *The Last of England*, 1855.<sup>5</sup> To what extent Samuel Haydon was responsible for introducing his brother to the London art scene is not known. In any case, George Henry Haydon's artistic interests lay not in the earnest realism and 'true to nature' aspirations of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, but in the humorous black-and-white illustration.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> J4, 7 June 1844, HC.

<sup>2</sup> Graeme Sturgeon, *The Development of Australian Sculpture 1788-1975* (London, 1978), p. 19. Not only is Edward Hodges Baily the sculptor of the figure on top of Nelson's Column in Trafalgar Square but also of the first bronze statue in Australia, *Sir Richard Bourke*, 1841.

<sup>3</sup> Obituary, *The Illustrated London News*, 19 September 1891. Two of S. B. Haydon's pieces of work can be seen in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

<sup>4</sup> Here S. B. Haydon may have come across the kangaroo and wombats Rossetti kept in his menagerie at Cheyne Walk, Chelsea.

<sup>5</sup> Marjorie J. Tipping, 'Woolner, Thomas (1825-1892)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 6 (Melbourne, 1976), pp. 438-9. Woolner was commissioned in 1874 to execute the bronze statue of Captain Cook which now stands in Hyde Park, Sydney. Haydon's owned a small watercolour by Woolner suggesting he may have known him and he certainly knew Sir John Everett Millais, another founding father of the Pre-Raphaelites. In the early 1850s the whole PRB had contemplated emigrating to Australia.

<sup>6</sup> Simon Houfe, *The Work of Charles Samuel Keene* (Aldershot, 1995), p. 17. It is recognized that many of the Pre-Raphaelite painters had also been illustrators and that their work influenced others including Charles Keene.

Haydon, of course, already had experience of illustrations through the preparation of the plates for his two published books, but the decades he spent in London were to coincide with a golden era in British illustration. Technological advances at the beginning of the nineteenth century had made book illustrations, which were relatively rare prior to that, very popular. Copper engraving had been succeeded by steel engraving and the lithograph, and then from the 1840s by the facsimile wood engraving which allowed for the easy production of pictures in books and magazines.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, it was very much an area in which the amateur artist could and did participate. This demand for illustrated texts had been not least stimulated by the proliferation of travel books that came on the market from the early 1800s, a market to which Haydon had already made a contribution. The nineteenth century also saw an explosion in the production of the periodical.

### *Punch*

The birth in the early 1840s of two particular publications, the *Illustrated London News* and *Punch*, was also a response to this new demand for pictorial media, and was to prove a highpoint for illustrated journalism.<sup>8</sup> The *Illustrated London News* was not only a vehicle for reporting events at home and within the Empire but also for visual depictions, and to this end the paper employed many talented illustrators. *Punch* had started out as a politically radical, satirical magazine, although within a few years its approach had softened somewhat with more emphasis on comedy of manners and social satire. It, too, employed the leading artists and caricaturists of the day.

In many ways the kind of art Haydon had practised in Australia, practised on occasions out of necessity, was a perfect grounding for black-and-white illustration. On the ship out and later in the bush, pencil, or possibly pen and ink, together with a small journal or scrap of paper was likely to be the extent of available artist materials.<sup>9</sup> Could this have encouraged a focus on the small and detailed rather than the large and sweeping? Certainly Haydon's shipboard sketches, with their cartoon and caricature qualities, indicate this:

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<sup>7</sup> Simon Houfe, *Dictionary of 19th Century British Book Illustrators and Caricaturists*, revised ed. (Woodbridge, 1996), pp. 8-9.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 20-7.

<sup>9</sup> There is no evidence that Haydon ever worked in water-colour or oil.

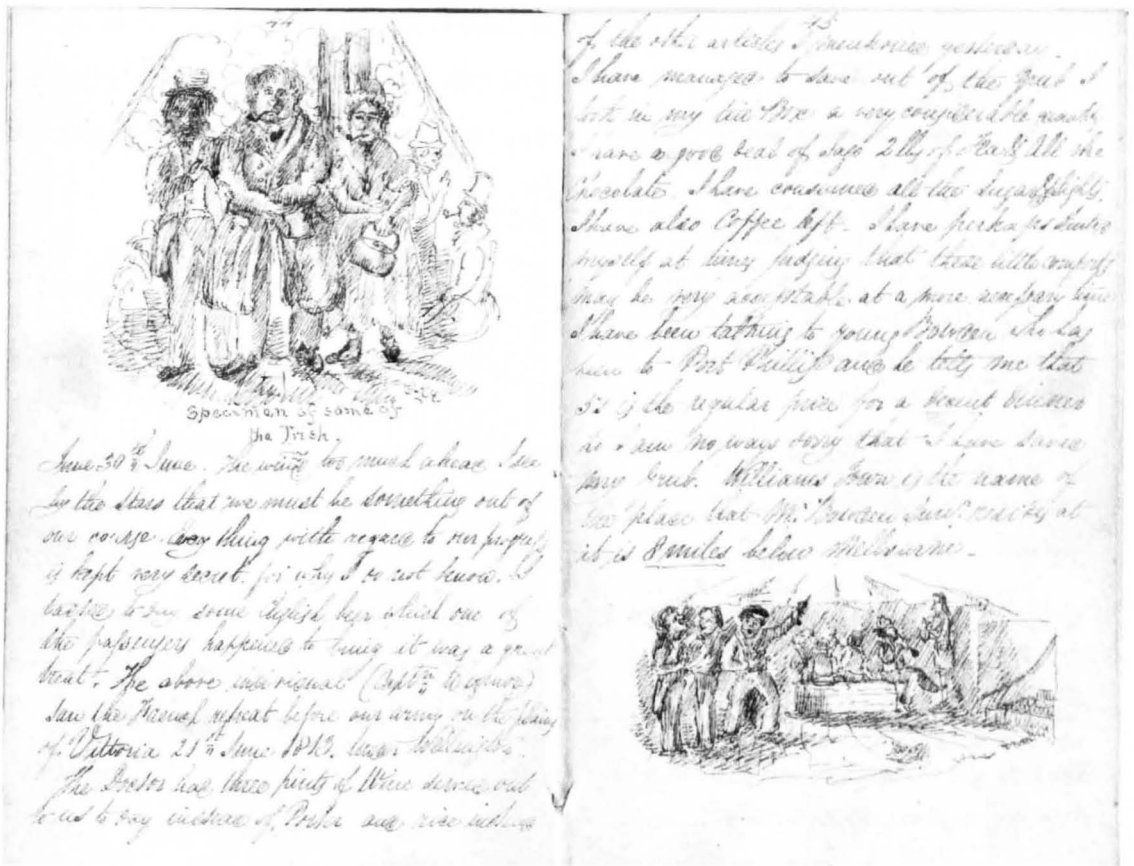


Figure 8.2 Pages from the *Theresa Journal*, HC.

Haydon's humour, too, was particularly suited to the medium of the comic sketch; it was whimsical and gentle, with a good sense of the absurd and observant of the human condition.

Haydon's early years in London were spent establishing himself at Bethlem and, with an increasing family, this no doubt left little time for drawing. However, in March 1859 Haydon enrolled at J. M. Leigh's School of Fine Art located just off Oxford Street. Here he particularly sought to improve his techniques for dealing with perspective and anatomy. The following year, and by then acquainted with the *Punch* set, he sought advice on wood drawing from *Punch*'s engraver, and took instruction from the famous *Punch* illustrator John Leech (who had produced 'Here and There', see figure 5.11).<sup>10</sup> This interest in drawing on woodblock suggests Haydon was thinking of publication. His first batch of sketches was sent to *Punch* in April 1860 and met with the approval of the editor (despite requiring some finishing touches from Leech). Haydon was asked to send more and, better still, he was to be paid for his work, as

<sup>10</sup> Haydon, notebook entitled 'Drawing Memos', HC.

Leech wrote to him 'of course you must have a quid for your quo'.<sup>11</sup> Between 1860 and 1863 Haydon contributed twenty-two sketches to *Punch* and, in true *Punch* style, even developed his own monogram from a composite of the initials G.H.H.<sup>12</sup>



Figure 8.3 Haydon's *Punch* monogram.

Like Haydon, Leech was a large man known for his kindly temper and gentle humour. He was close to William Makepeace Thackeray, and he socialized with Dickens. Haydon and Leech shared a love of the countryside and their fishing expeditions together provided the source of inspiration for many of Leech's sketches. Leech was no doubt also interested in anything Haydon may have had to say about Australia as his own son had emigrated to Adelaide where he would later drown in 1876. After Leech's death in 1864 Haydon contributed nothing more to *Punch* as, according to *Punch* historian M. H. Spielmann, it was 'only during his spare time and out of friendly feeling that he made the sketches.'<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> John Leech, letter to George Henry Haydon, 20 April 1860, HC.

<sup>12</sup> M. H. Spielmann, *The History of 'Punch'* (London, 1895), p. 573. Of the twenty-two sketches mentioned by Spielmann it has only been possible to identify eleven through Haydon's monogram.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 502.



Figures 8.4 & 8.5, initials from *Punch*.<sup>14</sup>

It is extremely difficult to appreciate the humour and satire of the current affairs of a previous age, and it is not always possible to fully interpret the pictures in relation to the text (which was not in any case written by Haydon). Bombalino (figure 8.4) was a reference to Francis II, King of Naples, named so because of his bombardment of Palermo in 1860 (and because his father Ferdinand II had earned himself the nickname of King Bomba.) The 'A' which starts the first word of the article is formed from a navigator's compasses. Figure 8.5 accompanied an item on the Ecclesiastical Titles Act which had the effect of prohibiting Roman Catholic Bishops holding the same titles as Anglican Bishops. There was considerable anti-Catholic feeling at this time and the 'Pope's Brass Band' is what Haydon has depicted in the sketch of an Irishman blowing a tiny horn. It is doubtful that much can be deduced about Haydon's own politics from these pictures and, indeed, his reluctance to submit more after Leech's death suggests he was not really inclined to this kind of lampooning.

Another close artist friend was Charles Keene, considered by many to be the natural successor to Leech as the premier *Punch* illustrator.<sup>15</sup> Close in age and with a common background in architecture, Keene and Haydon also shared an interest in the Volunteer Movement, a subject often mocked in *Punch*. Both men were also members of the Langham Sketching Club, a section of the Artists' Society which had been

<sup>14</sup> 'Help for Bombalino', *Punch*, 17 November 1860; 'A Rod in Pickle', *Punch*, 10 August 1861.

<sup>15</sup> Spielmann, *The History of 'Punch'*, p. 482; Keene also illustrated works by Daniel Defoe, W. M. Thackeray and Charles Reade.

established in 1830 by many of the leading black-and-white artists of the day, including W. M. Thackeray, Sir John Tenniel, and the Dalziel brothers.<sup>16</sup> The club would meet on Friday nights and sketch for two hours with all participants working on the same subject. The end results would be passed around for general, good-natured criticism. This was not, however, a school or merely a social club as many who attended were professional artists practising their trade.<sup>17</sup>

Haydon and Keene shared further mutual interests, including pipe smoking, collecting books and curios, and, most of all, angling. Keene was always very reliant on his friends to provide him with ideas for his drawings and not only would Haydon make suggestions for possible sketches but on occasions he acted as subject. The figure of the large, bearded angler (see figure 8.1 above) which appeared in the *Punch Almanack* for 1885 is Haydon. Keene appears to have been anxious about the fate of sketches he sold or gave away and would sometimes ask Haydon to bid for them at sales to avoid them being 'stuck in some little dealer's window'.<sup>18</sup>

Keene wrote of Haydon to another artist friend, Joseph Crawhall, illustrator, amateur cartoonist, and author of '*The Completest Angling Booke that ever was writ*' [sic] (1857). Haydon was clearly still 'dining out' on his Australian stories, as it is in this correspondence that Keene referred to Haydon's adventures in Australia and his journey to Gippsland. Intriguingly, Keene also stated that Haydon had 'left lots of sketches in the colony'.<sup>19</sup>

Keene was always generous to his joke-suggestors rewarding them with gifts of sketches and the little clay pipes he favoured for smoking. Along with examples of his own work Keene gave Haydon a sketchbook that had been passed to him by the widow of the great actor David Garrick (1717-79). (This proved to be an extremely generous gift as the sketchbook contained a drawing by Leonardo da Vinci, one by Albrecht Dürer, and another by Francesco del Cossa.<sup>20</sup>) Haydon wrote on hearing of Keene's death: 'Not a very eventful life I take it but a charmingly unassuming, beautiful and unselfish one'.<sup>21</sup> After Haydon's own death his son passed on many of Keene's

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<sup>16</sup> Sir John Tenniel (1820-1914) was *Punch's* principal artist from 1864. Edward (1817-1905) and Thomas (1823-1906) Dalziel were wood engravers and illustrators.

<sup>17</sup> G. S. Layard, *The Life and Letters of Charles Samuel Keene* (London, 1892), p. 36.

<sup>18</sup> Charles Keene, letter to George Henry Haydon, 31 March 1882, HC.

<sup>19</sup> Charles Keene, letter to George Crawhall, 13 July 1877, quoted in Layard, p. 247.

<sup>20</sup> These are now in the British Museum.

<sup>21</sup> Layard, p. 355.

sketches, letters and pipes to G. L. Stampa, a *Punch* artist of the next generation who was a great admirer of Keene's work.

The world of the London illustrator-artists was small and close-knit and Haydon had a number of other friends within that community who deserve to be mentioned. Amongst these are Edward Duncan (1803-82) the marine and coastal painter; Myles Birket Foster (1825-99) who had started out producing work for *Punch* and the *Illustrated London News* but became more famous for his watercolours; and Henry Stacy Marks (1829-98) most remembered now for his paintings of birds. Haydon also knew the travel artist William Simpson, a fellow Freemason, introduced by Haydon's close friend Roger Acton, an editor at the *Illustrated London News*.<sup>22</sup>

### George Cruikshank

Haydon first met George Cruikshank in 1863 through the introduction of their mutual friend Samuel Phelps.<sup>23</sup> Cruikshank already had some knowledge of Bethlem having undertaken a number of sketches on conditions within the asylum for submission to the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Madness in 1814. Haydon and Cruikshank also shared an interest in the Volunteer Movement.<sup>24</sup>

Cruikshank, the leading caricaturist of his day, naturally mixed in circles that included the *Punch* men. However, despite the fact that *Punch* was highly suitable for Cruikshank's style, and its editors certainly wanted to use his work, Cruikshank never actually contributed to it on the grounds that it 'indulged in ridiculing personalities rather than principles'.<sup>25</sup> There were other less lofty reasons why Cruikshank shunned *Punch*. As a reformed drinker Cruikshank had become a vehement supporter of the Temperance Movement at which, to his annoyance, *Punch* often poked fun. Spielmann also suggests Cruikshank's aversion stemmed from his rivalry with Leech, and, if this were not enough, Cruikshank also felt the very idea for *Punch* had been stolen from him as indicated in this ponderously punned letter to Haydon:

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<sup>22</sup> Haydon's association with the *Punch* artists was too early for him to have known Phil May (1864-1903) who was to spend several years in Australia working for *The Bulletin* (Sydney).

<sup>23</sup> George Cruikshank, letter to George Henry Haydon, 1 April 1863, PUL.

<sup>24</sup> Haydon was a member of the 7<sup>th</sup> Surrey and later the Queen's Westminster Corps, and Cruikshank joined the 48<sup>th</sup> Middlesex Corps.

<sup>25</sup> Robert L. Patten, *George Cruikshank's Life, Times and Art: Volume II 1835-1878* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 200.



Speaking of Punch, you are, I presume, aware that although the idea of 'Punch' was taken from my 'Omnibus', that I never had anything to do with the way of Punch.

However, I will say no more about Punch at present, as I fear you will feel as if you could 'punch' the head of

Yours truly,  
George Cruikshank<sup>26</sup>

The correspondence between Haydon and Cruikshank, which may have shed further light on their relationship, was sold at auction by Haydon's widow and now cannot be traced.<sup>27</sup> Cruikshank died in January 1878 and a grief stricken Haydon requested a lock of hair from the corpse. A few days later a secret that had been suspected by many, though not apparently by Haydon, was made public to all. At the reading of his will it became clear that Cruikshank, for all his temperance and philanthropy, had been leading a double life. He had a second home with a long-term mistress, Adelaide Attree, with whom he had fathered eleven children over more than two decades. This came as a devastating shock to his wife Eliza, probably the more so as she had no children of her own. Although Cruikshank's most recent biographer claims Eliza never uttered a word of reproach, Haydon's notebook entries suggest otherwise:<sup>28</sup>

[March 4 1878].

A sad day. I thought the vessel was pure gold; it was but gold and clay. Mrs Cruikshank is left unprovided for – the will providing for a family by a former servant of the house! Intimacy commenced twenty-five years ago...

[March 6 1878]

She [Eliza] said she was sure she would have shot the woman, if she had known what was going on, and have upbraided C G so severely that he would, with his sensitive nature, have destroyed himself.<sup>29</sup>

Haydon consulted with Roger Acton over the possibility of keeping the contents of the will out of the *Illustrated London News*. He continued to correspond with the wronged widow Eliza Cruikshank and provide support and advice where he could.

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<sup>26</sup> George Cruikshank, letter to George Haydon, 7 January 1867, quoted in Spielmann, p. 496. Loyalty to Cruikshank may be a further reason why Haydon ceased to submit drawings to *Punch*.

<sup>27</sup> Cruikshank's surviving letters are in the region of 8,500 and are scattered in a number of repositories throughout the world. Six letters from Haydon to Cruikshank (and a further six from Haydon to Mrs Cruikshank) have been located in the George Cruikshank Collection, (C0256) at PUL.

<sup>28</sup> Patten, *George Cruikshank's Life*, p. 514.

<sup>29</sup> Haydon, Letts Diary for 1874, HC. This was used as a general notebook and not a diary.

## Charles Dickens

The possibility that Haydon knew Charles Dickens is a very real one in view of their mutual friends and acquaintances. Dickens was very much in with the *Punch* men and counted John Leech (who had illustrated *A Christmas Carol*), Thackeray, and the editor Mark Lemon, among his particular friends. Another friend in common was the actor Samuel Phelps, Dickens being keen on amateur dramatics. Haydon's sculptor brother knew Dickens's parents, had executed a bust and sketch of John Dickens, and had corresponded with the family.<sup>30</sup>

Not surprisingly Bethlem attracted a certain amount of interest from the social commentators of the day. Dickens's own magazine, *Household Words*, published an article on Bethlem in 1857.<sup>31</sup> Its author, Morley, wrote sympathetically of the change and improvements that had taken place in the asylum under the supervision of Doctor Hood, and this appears to have prompted Dickens to strike up a friendship with Hood which makes it all the more likely that he at least met Haydon. Lunatic Asylums and their reform were subjects of particular interest to Dickens, and he was known to be close to John Connelly<sup>32</sup> and John Forster (Dickens's confidant and biographer) who was appointed Secretary to the Lunacy Commission in 1856. It was something of an embarrassment to Dickens that his own publication *All Year Round* serialized Charles Reade's novel *Hard Cash* in 1863. *Hard Cash*, with its storyline of wrongful imprisonment in an asylum, was a vehement attack on the very medical profession that Dickens was supporting. In fact literary treatments of the rights and wrongs of threatening to lock people up – Wilkie Collins' *The Woman in White* (1860), actually locking them up – *Hard Cash* and Edward Bulwer-Lytton's *Pelham* (1828), or not locking them up sufficiently well – Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1847) were recurrent themes of Victorian literature.<sup>33</sup> Dickens explored the possibilities for alternative care of the mentally vulnerable in his treatment of Mr Dick in *David Copperfield*.<sup>34</sup> It is

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<sup>30</sup> F. G. Kitton, *Charles Dickens by Pen and Pencil* (London, 1890), p. 29.

<sup>31</sup> *Household Words. A weekly journal conducted by Charles Dickens. No. 386 Volume XVI, 15 August 1857*, pp. 145-50.

<sup>32</sup> John Sutherland, *Victorian Fiction Writers, Publishers, Readers* (Basingstoke, 1995), pp. 74-7. John Connelly (1794-1866) was Resident Physician at Hanwell Lunatic Asylum from 1839 to 1843 where he was credited with leading the way in asylum reform though his later career was marred by his commercial interest in asylums.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68. Sutherland argues that Brontë's portrayal of Bertha Mason, who is kept by Rochester at home, is critical of the lack of restraint used which allows Bertha to harm others and to set fire to the house.; see *Ibid.*, pp. 55-86 for lunatic asylums in literature.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83. Sutherland suggests that Dickens revised his view on the issue of 'non-restraint' and the portrayal of Miss Havisham in *Great Expectations* is a critique along the same lines as Charlotte Brontë's.

somewhat ironic that Bulwer-Lytton had his estranged wife Rosina briefly committed to an asylum to teach her a lesson. There is even some suggestion that Dickens invoked the threat of committal in respect of his own wife Catherine.<sup>35</sup>

1857, the year of the Bethlem article in *Household Words*, was not a good time for Dickens; his marriage to Catherine, which had been unhappy for years, was to collapse altogether and not without scandalous rumours of an affair with his sister-in-law (an act then considered to be incestuous). During the summer of 1858 Mr and Mrs Charles Dickens formally separated with much bitterness and publicity during which he suggested she was neglectful of her children and suffering from a mental disorder.<sup>36</sup> Friends and acquaintances whom Dickens felt had not sided with him during the episode were cast off. It also saw the end of his association with *Punch* for the same reason. Dickens felt both publisher and editor had been disloyal in refusing to print his personal statement made over his marriage. Whilst it is true that Haydon and Dickens had a particular mutual friend in John Leech, Haydon was also close to Cruikshank. Dickens's relationship with his old illustrator, always strained, had deteriorated to mutual coldness not helped by the fact that Mr and Mrs Cruikshank maintained their friendship with Catherine after the separation. Haydon wrote after meeting Mrs Dickens in 1875 that she had been 'cruelly treated' and that her subsequent silence had 'indeed been golden'.<sup>37</sup> It would seem that Haydon was in the wrong camp.

Had Dickens and Haydon conversed they might have found a common interest in Australia. As discussed in the context of *The Australian Emigrant* Dickens was responsible, through his fiction and journalism, for instilling a certain perception of Australia in the public's imagination. Always concerned with the 'conditions of England' particularly housing, education and poverty, Dickens had supported the idea of emigration to Australia as a remedy for some and an opportunity for others. His interest in the Family Colonisation Loan Society brought him in contact with Caroline Chisholm who provided him with material for *Household Words*, as did Samuel Sidney.<sup>38</sup> Indeed, two of Dickens's own children emigrated to Australia.<sup>39</sup> However, Dickens came to resent empire as a distraction from social ills in England.<sup>40</sup> Although

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<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> George Henry Haydon, letter to Eliza Cruikshank 19 March 1875, PUL.

<sup>38</sup> Peter Ackroyd, *Dickens* (London, 1991), pp. 616-21.

<sup>39</sup> Ackroyd, pp. 1090-91. Ackroyd comments on the fact that Edward Dickens was unprepared for an outback life having received his impressions of Australia only from books.

<sup>40</sup> B. Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists*, p. 141.

many of his characters like Emily, Mr Micawber and Uriah Heep in *David Copperfield* were destined for Australia, such exiles, as Clarke points out, all came as a result of moral failure.<sup>41</sup> Dickens had been contemplating a trip to Australia in 1862 and had planned to produce a travel book to be called *The Uncommercial Traveller Upside Down*.<sup>42</sup> This did not come off and Dickens never went to Australia. Unfortunately conjecture on a possible acquaintance between Haydon and the most famous writer of the day must, in the absence of any evidence, remain just that.<sup>43</sup>

### George Augustus Sala

It is more certain that Haydon knew Dickens's protégé George Augustus Sala who, as noted in Chapter 7, had visited Bethlehem. His 1860 piece for the *Illustrated London News*, together with the accompanying illustrations, had made life at Bethlehem seem almost convivial. Sala described the various wards, the ballroom, the billiard room, the 'excellent library', gardens and parterres. The female gallery was 'prettily painted, well carpeted, cheerfully lighted, and enlivened with prints and busts, with aviaries and pet animals.'<sup>44</sup> Sala also gave a description (though he could not name him) of Edward Oxford.

It is not clear just how well Haydon knew Sala but it is interesting that in his memoirs Sala stated that he was encouraged to undertake a tour of the colonies by his friends, and in 1885 he made the journey to Melbourne.<sup>45</sup> Although Sala was one of the most respected journalists of his time his experiences in Australia were not altogether happy. Always struggling with his finances, Sala had embarked on a lecture tour to earn money. Whilst in the town of Mudgee, giving what he thought of as a 'pathetic and picturesque description of the appearance of her Majesty Queen Victoria at her coronation in June 1838', a lady in the audience had shouted 'Rubbidge!'<sup>46</sup> Despite this very Australian put-down, his observations of Australian life were well-received and

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<sup>41</sup> Clarke, *The Land of Contraries*, p. 100.

<sup>42</sup> Coral Lansbury, 'Dickens, Charles', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 4 (Melbourne, 1972), pp. 70-1.

<sup>43</sup> Graham Storey et al. (eds), *The Letters of Charles Dickens: Volume Seven 1853-1855* (Oxford, 1965-2002), p. 890. Haydon has been identified as the recipient of a letter from Dickens dated 26 September 1848. This letter was sold to a private collection and its precise contents are not known although the subject of the letter was Dickens's refusal to sit for a portrait. In view of the date of this letter, i.e. prior to Haydon's arrival in London, it is more likely to have been to Haydon's brother S. B. Haydon.

<sup>44</sup> G. A. Sala, 'A Visit to the Royal Hospital of Bethlehem', *Illustrated London News*, 24 March 1860 continued 31 March 1860. Sala had worked with Dickens at *Household Words*.

<sup>45</sup> G. A. Sala, *The Life and Adventures of George Augustus Sala Written by Himself*, 2 vols, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London, 1894), p. 704; Lansbury, *Arcady in Australia*, p. 141.

<sup>46</sup> Sala, *The Life and Adventures of George Augustus Sala*, p. 716.

published in the *Daily Telegraph* in London under the title *The Land of the Golden Fleece*. They were reproduced in the *Melbourne Argus*, the *Australasian* and the *Sydney Morning Herald*. It was in these articles that Sala coined the term 'Marvellous Melbourne' that was to become so popular during the 1890s (and which seems an appropriate realization of Haydon's own earlier enthusiasm for the place.) Sala later recalled: 'I found Melbourne a really astonishing city, with broad streets full of handsome shops, and crowded with bustling, well-dressed people.'<sup>47</sup> Sadly though, Sala's experience of Melbourne was badly soured when, on the eve of departure, his wife fell ill in the hotel and suddenly died. In borrowed mourning dress he buried her in Melbourne General Cemetery.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 714.

<sup>48</sup> Graeme Davison, *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne* (Carlton, Vic., 1978), p. 229.

## Illustrated works

In 1860 Haydon illustrated a little book entitled *Instinct; or Reason? Being tales and anecdotes of Animal Biography*. This gentle collection of stories was written by Lady Julia Lockwood for her grandson.<sup>49</sup> Not surprisingly, it was with the kangaroo that Haydon chose to lead his animal procession.

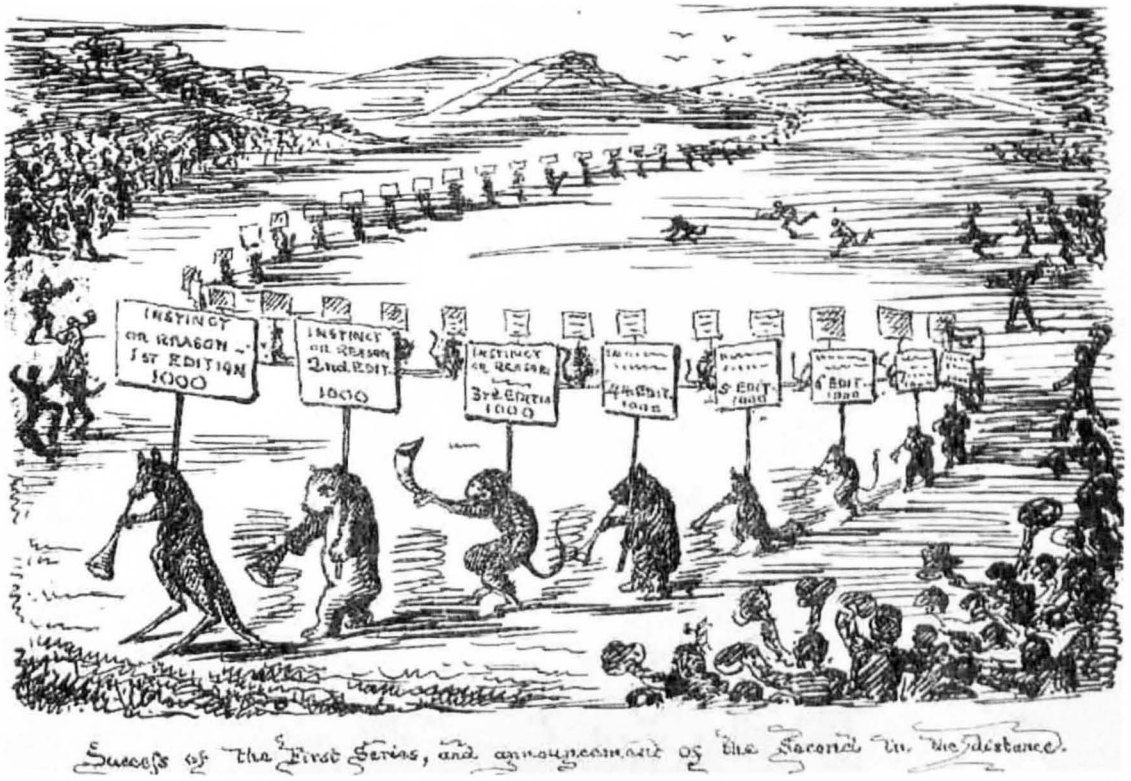


Figure 8.6 ‘Success of the First Series, and announcement of the second in the distance’, from *Instinct; or Reason?* HC.

Haydon also illustrated a presentation copy of the poem ‘The Surprising Adventures of Three Men’ by Thackeray.<sup>50</sup> Thackeray, though better known now as the author of *Vanity Fair*, had started his career as a comic illustrator and had worked for *Punch* between 1842 and 1854. Whether or not Haydon knew the writer or simply admired the work is not known though, again, they had a number of mutual acquaintances and had both been members of the Langham Sketching Club. Haydon’s sphere of work may have been all too close to home for Thackeray whose wife’s mental health broke down in 1840. Although Isabella was cared for outside an asylum (but

<sup>49</sup> Lady Julia Lockwood, *Instinct; or Reason?* (London, 1861). Sir Frank Lockwood (1847-97) was a barrister who contributed legal caricatures to *Punch* and it is possibly through him that Haydon came to do these sketches.

<sup>50</sup> George Henry Haydon, ‘Illustrations to *The Surprising Adventures of Three Men* by William Makepeace Thackeray’, n.d. (but not later than 1882), privately printed for presentation only, HC.

probably not in such benign circumstances as Mr Dick) Thackeray had little contact with her once it appeared there was not hope of a recovery.<sup>51</sup>



THE EQUATOR

“HELLO JIM! HERE’S A PRETTY GO! I’M BLEST IF I’VE A SHADOW LEFT!!!”



NOW GORGING JACK AND GUZZLING JIMMY, THEY ATE SO PRECIOUS GREEDILY  
THAT WHEN THEY CAME UPON THE EQUATOR, THEY HAD NOT GOT BUT ONE SPLIT PEA.

Figures 8.7 From ‘The Surprising Adventures of Three Men’ by W. M. Thackeray, p. 4, HC.

<sup>51</sup> John Sutherland, *Victorian Fiction*, p. 66.



It was the cause of great amusement to Haydon's sons when in 1931 one saw an item in the *Morning Post* reporting that a copy of Haydon's edition of Thackeray's poem had been sold in America for a 'fancy price'.<sup>52</sup> The purchaser was under the misapprehension that the drawings as well as the text were by Thackeray. Certainly the poem's subject matter, three men going to sea, was likely to appeal to Haydon with his experience of shipboard life. The sailors and mutton birds must have come straight out of his voyage on the *Theresa*. So, too, was his recollection of the strangeness of crossing the equator, an invisible boundary where shadow disappears. Running short of food was a predicament Haydon had experienced first-hand during the voyage, and more desperately on the journey to Gippsland.

Bearing in mind his own young and increasing family, the illustration of these works by Lady Lockwood and Thackeray may indicate Haydon's attention was being drawn to the increasing fashion for illustration of children's books. Haydon always embellished his letters to his own children with sketches and doodles.

The preparation of all types of illustrated stories and poems for private publication amongst friends and acquaintances was very much a part of the high-Victorian visual culture and Haydon (probably encouraged by access to book-binding facilities at Bethlem) undertook a number of such works. In 1879 he presented Lady Portsmouth with a collection of sketches entitled *Happy Days at Hurstbourne* as a mark of his appreciation for the pleasure of the many years spent fishing on the Earl of Portsmouth's estate in Hampshire (see Chapter 10).<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> George Haydon, letter to Frank Haydon, 31 December 1931, HC.

<sup>53</sup> The original of this is in the Portsmouth family archives at the Hampshire County Record Office and I am grateful to the Earl of Portsmouth for permission to view it.



Figures 8.9 From *Happy Days at Hurstbourne 1859-1879*, 1879, HRO.

### The Victorian periodical

Dickens, Thackeray, Sala, Cruikshank and Keene were all regular and prolific contributors to the Victorian periodical. With literally hundreds of titles covering every possible subject these publications provided an important forum for the dissemination of information on the Empire and imperial views.

Haydon's most substantial contribution to this immensely popular genre was as both artist and writer. In June 1862 an article, published in two parts, described Haydon's stay on French Island. The piece (the contents of which will be considered in Chapter 9) bore the rather ambiguous title of 'Out of the World' and, together with the sketch shown at figure 9.11, appeared in *Once a Week*.<sup>54</sup> This magazine had been started by Bradbury and Evans after their break with Dickens and was in fact in competition with Dickens's own periodical *All the Year Round*. (This is another example of Haydon being on the wrong side of Dickens.) Not surprisingly many of the *Punch* artists contributed to this and Haydon must have felt in particularly august

<sup>54</sup> George Henry Haydon, 'Out of the World', *Once a Week* VI, 1861-62, pp. 697-700 & 718-22.

company with his name alongside Hablot K. Brown (Phiz), George Du Maurier, Charles Keene and Sir John Millais. But more pertinently, another contributor to *Once a Week* in 1862 was John Skinner Prout better known today for the art he produced in Australia, particularly Tasmania, during his time there in the 1840s.<sup>55</sup> After his return to England in 1848, Prout went on to publish a number of illustrated works on Australia and in 1850 he lectured and exhibited dioramic views illustrating emigrant life and the habits of bushrangers and Aborigines.<sup>56</sup> Prout is another example of a returnee who might bear some consideration along the same lines as Haydon particularly for an understanding of how he communicated Australia to an audience back in England.

### **Edward Bowering Stephens**

For Haydon's final connection with the world of art and artists it is necessary to look away from London to his home town of Exeter. In 1878, with the assistance of friends including George Cruikshank, Samuel Phelps, and the Barrister George Pitt-Lewis, Haydon arranged for a bronze, *The Deer Stalker*, to be purchased at cost only for the city of Exeter and erected at Bedford Circus. It was later moved to the grounds of Northernhay where it remains to this day. The bronze was undertaken by the Devon sculptor Edward Bowering Stephens and, having the year before been exhibited at the Royal Academy, it was considered to be his finest piece.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> J. S. Prout, 'The Sketcher in Tasmania', *Once a Week* VI, 1861-62, pp. 275-80 & 305-07.

<sup>56</sup> V.W. Hodgman, 'Prout, John Skinner (1805-76)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 2 (Melbourne, 1967), pp. 353-4.

<sup>57</sup> Edward Bowering Stephens (1815-82). Stephens also studied under E. H. Baily.





Figure 8.10 *The Deerstalker*, a bronze by E. B. Stephens, Northernhay Park, Exeter, K. Haydon photograph, 2004.

Haydon travelled down to Exeter in August 1878 for the unveiling of the statue and to enjoy the fuss and ceremony that surrounded it. The event clearly made an impression on Haydon's old friend and Devon artist George Pycroft who dedicated his book *Art In Devonshire* to Haydon in recognition of his 'much help in the way of art'.<sup>58</sup> Stephens undertook many prestigious commissions and several of his works can still be seen around Exeter. However, in the list of commissions undertaken one stands out as possibly having Haydon's influence. In 1879 Stephens executed a marble statue entitled 'Science and Literature' and described as life-size. This was apparently undertaken for Melbourne, Australia.<sup>59</sup> Stephens appears to have had no obvious connection with Australia and again it may have been Haydon who was encouraging his friend, as he had done with others, to take an interest in his adopted country. After Stephens's death

<sup>58</sup> George Pycroft, 'Dedication', *Art in Devonshire* (Exeter, 1883).

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 140. It has not proved possible to locate this statue.

in 1882 Haydon was able to present Bethlem with a gift of some of the casts of the sculptor's works for display in the hospital.<sup>60</sup>

The relationship between the written word and the illustration in Haydon's time was more intimate than is understood today. Pictures produced, whether for public or private consumption, amateur or professional, were all closely connected with how the individual negotiated society. What made Haydon particularly able to engage with this kind of material was his sense of humour and ability to associate picture and prose, an ability that can arguably be traced back to his first shipboard journal.

Whereas Haydon had felt free to join in the public debate on emigration, he was, with the exception of *Red Tape*, silent on the subject of asylums. Dickens, Reade and Lytton felt no such restraint and it was to be the very same writers who had promoted Australia to a British audience who were also exploring the treatment of lunatics. This was not, of course, a coincidence but rather a reflection of the fact that writers of popular literature, in their role as social commentators, were engaged with all the major issues of the day, and the popular press was a forum for reflecting a gamut of attitudes and information on the British Empire.

Placing Haydon among the artists, journalists and writers of popular fiction within his milieu serves two purposes. First, it shows how Haydon's own professional progress went against the flow of what Hoppen terms 'the business of culture'. It was in Australia that Haydon had attempted to be a professional artist and architect and, on his return, to make a living from writing. These faded into amateur pursuits in later life. For others though it was the mid-Victorian era that saw artist, writers and architects move fully into the category of professionals; for the first time a significant number of people could make a respectable living from these pursuits.<sup>61</sup> 'The businesslike nature of mid-Victorian cultural endeavours' writes Hoppen 'owed much to the peculiar resonances generated by a maturing industrial economy and by the social order which accompanied it.'<sup>62</sup> In particular it was developments in printing and engraving techniques, and the rise in illustrated publications that stimulated a market for reading material in a growing literate and urbanized population.

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<sup>60</sup> *Under the Dome*, [the magazine of Bethlem Hospital] New Series no. 1, 31 March 1892, p. 17.

<sup>61</sup> Hoppen, *the Mid-Victorian Generation*, pp. 380-1.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 425.

The second point to be made by locating Haydon in this increasingly professional artistic world is the extent to which the networks it provided had global reaches, directly or indirectly stimulating interest in Australia. In just this selection of names that can be associated with Haydon, it is possible to see a substantial number of those who were going to Australia, thinking about going, or producing art and literature on Australian subjects, all of which was to influence how Australia was shaped in the British imagination. From Rossetti's wombats to Woolner's statues; from Dickens's Micawber to Sala's famous epithet 'Marvellous Melbourne', there was a thriving interaction of people and ideas between Britain and Australia.

## Chapter 9: Australia Revisited



Figure 9.1 Title page from, *These to a trusty bush companion*, William Ker, 1860, NLA.



Despite the fact that he never physically returned, Haydon continued throughout his life to revisit Australia in his imagination. What becomes increasingly apparent in tracing the various manifestations of this imagined time and place is just how much Haydon privileged certain aspects of his colonial experience over others, and how he shaped them retrospectively. The writings, lectures, and drawings undertaken during Haydon's Bethlem years all look back on, and romanticize, a frontier experience that was particular to 1840s Port Phillip. Moreover, it was an experience that was revised to highlight bush values, adventure, and achievement. What is also apparent, if a little surprising, is Haydon's apparent disinclination to associate with other returned colonists with whom he might have been expected to have had something in common.

### **The collection of artefacts**

Haydon, supportive of Doctor Hood's theory that intellectual and creative stimulation was beneficial to the patients, had donated his collection of curios for the edification of those at Bethlem, and these were displayed in glass cabinets in the hospital wards. The collection, which included bones, early stone implements, and seaweed, was also to be the repository for some of Haydon's Australian memorabilia. A leather stock whip from Haydon's time in Gippsland described as 'old, and not to be used', was displayed.<sup>1</sup>

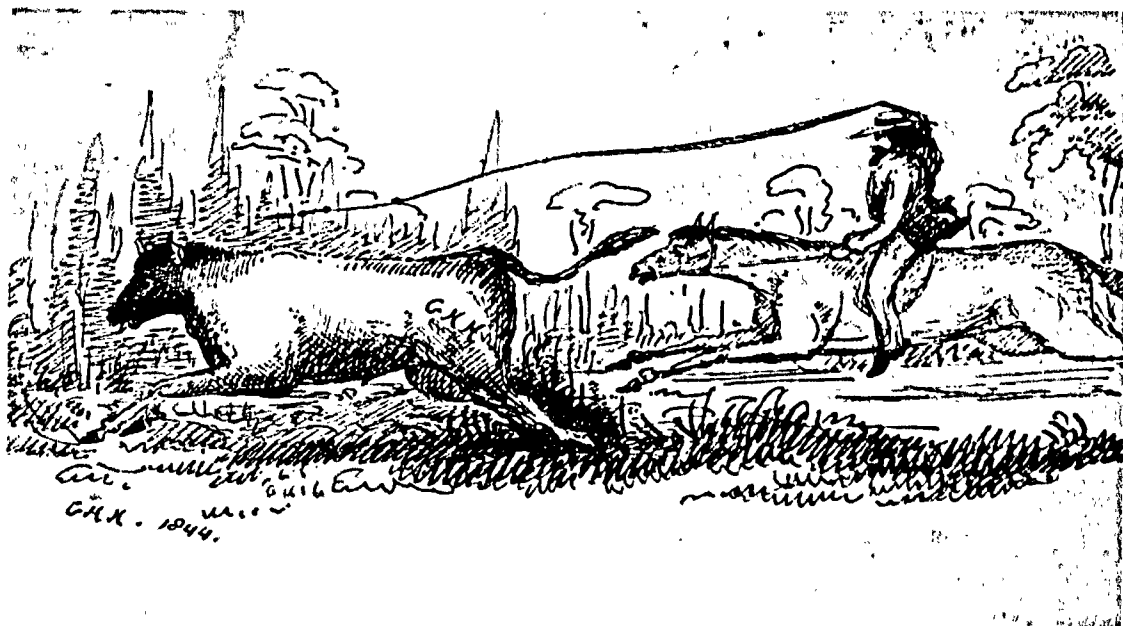


Figure 9.2 Driving cattle, 1844, 15 x 9, HC.

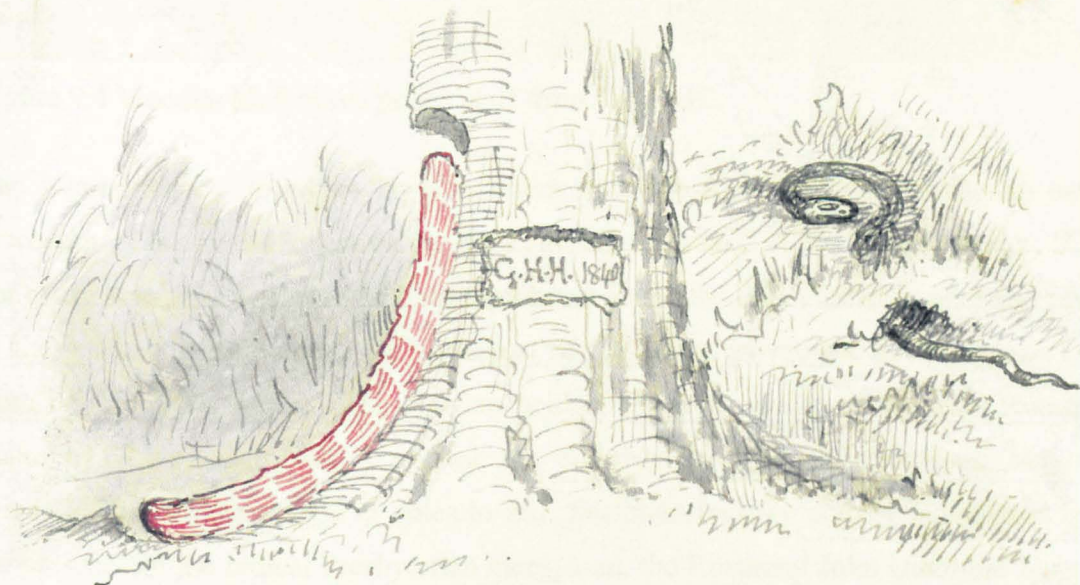
<sup>1</sup> G. H. Haydon, schedule of curios, 1876, HC.

Ward notes that the stock whip became 'a potent symbol of outback values' and Haydon's sketch is typical of its use as such.<sup>2</sup>

Other items in the collection included a set of large needles that Haydon had used in Port Phillip, a pair of Aboriginal fire sticks, and two boomerangs with the following explanation as to how they were made:

*The property of Geo. H. Haydon Pittwater Hoopl.  
Apr. 3<sup>rd</sup> 1876*

*Two Australian Boomerangs made by the  
natives of Westernport, Australia 1842/  
the only tool used being a Stone Axe*



*Having selected a suitable tree the native cuts  
from the sides of a root of the right form until he  
has reduced the center to the requisite thickness, when  
he separates it from the tree at the inner edge  
and finishes the weapon at his leisure -*

Figure 9.3 How to make a boomerang, 16 x 20, HC.

<sup>2</sup> Ward, *The Australian Legend*, p. 12.

Haydon could not resist including the sign of the explorer by showing his own initials blazed on the tree-trunk. (This seems to echo Samuel Haydon's name on Table Mountain, see figure 1 'Prologue'.) Also on display was a constable's staff with a note:

Melbourne Australia. This staff was issued and used, in the year 1843 by a special constable who was called out in support of free institutions and to assist in the suppression of a Riot which was got up by the worst classes in the town in the name of Freedom.<sup>3</sup>



Figure 9.4 Wooden Melbourne police staff from 1843, HC.

The 'worst classes' to which Haydon refers were the Irish Catholic contingent, and 'Freedom' was the 1843 election for the Legislative Council of New South Wales. Six out of the thirty-six council members were to represent the Port Phillip District and one of these was for Melbourne. This was part of the larger movement for independence from control from Sydney. The election held on 20 June saw local squatter, Roman Catholic Edward Curr, pitted against the Scottish Presbyterian clergyman Mayor Condell. The latter won by 295 votes to 261. Sectarian tension, already heightened by the presence of the radical Presbyterian clergyman, the Reverend John Dunmore Lang, spilled over. Dissatisfied with Curr's defeat the mob went on the rampage and could not be controlled by the combined efforts of foot and mounted police. It was no doubt somewhere amongst this fracas that the staff was used. Order was not restored until the arrival of soldiers with rifles and fixed bayonets.<sup>4</sup> Quite how or why Haydon had this truncheon is unknown as it is unlikely that he was ever a Special Constable.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> G. H. Haydon, schedule of curios, 1876, HC.

<sup>4</sup> Shaw, *A History of the Port Phillip District*, p. 185; A. Sutherland, *Victoria and its Metropolis*, p. 194. Sutherland claims the election caused no disorder until Condell, a brewer, offered free drinks to potential voters and there followed a night of 'desperate intoxication.'

<sup>5</sup> Haydon collected a second staff which is painted with 'VR' and a crest, but it is not known whether this also came from Australia.

Melbourne's police force in the early 1840s was a haphazard affair comprising only five to eight men, and often not very honest ones.<sup>6</sup>

The collecting of curios was a typical pastime of the Victorian gentleman and was often a reflection of an enlightened appetite for knowledge concerning history, natural history, and the progress of mankind which underlay the impulse for empire. Despite its haphazard accumulation, the collection that Haydon put on display in Bethlem, the boomerangs and fire sticks shown alongside the steel needles and policeman's staff, would have neatly juxtaposed the differing technologies of the indigenous population and the colonizers. If the steel needles were a sign of a more sophisticated culture it must also be acknowledged that the design and function of the boomerang was superior to the crude wooden club. One wonders if Haydon appreciated the contrast between the adaptive/constructive and the coercive/destructive nature of these artefacts. His careful labelling of them indicates he saw their place in the emerging narrative of Australian history; he also saw his own place in that narrative.

### **The lecture**

When in 1862 Haydon was asked to give a lecture to the Bethlem inmates on a subject of his choice it was not surprising that he chose to speak on Australia. In July of that year he gave his talk first in the ballroom at Bethlem, and then a week later to the boys (presumably it was not considered suitable for the girls) at King Edward's School. The content of the lecture was largely a reworking of the article 'Out of the World' published the previous month in *Once a Week* but prior to recounting the French Island adventure Haydon was keen to describe an early Port Phillip settlement, and to tell the story of the escaped convict William Buckley:

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<sup>6</sup> Shaw, *A History of the Port Phillip District*, p. 78.





Figure 9.5 W. MacLeod, engraving of William Buckley, untitled cutting, HC.

On the opposite shore [from French Island] on the main land about nine miles off are the remains of a very early English settlement which I explored. At the time I visited the site... it had been deserted nearly forty years, but the charred stump of the flagstaff was standing, bricks were strewed about, and the remains of a dam existed in the little creek from which the colony derived its supply of fresh water... Large gum trees had grown up and displaced portions of the foundation of a house which from its size and situation had evidently been the residence of the Commandant - probably Lieutenant Governor Collins who held the office of Judge Advocate under Governor Phillips [sic] about 1790... The chief incident however to which I desire to call your attention in connection with this abandoned settlement is that during the existence of the encampment, three of the convicts attached to it escaped into the bush, and when one of the early party of explorers from Van Diemen's Land was landing from boats near the future site of Melbourne, they saw amid a tribe of natives sitting under a tree, with all the arms and tokens of a chief, a man of large limbs and gigantic stature, lighter coloured

than his companions as well as could be distinguished through taw, paint, and dirt. He stared hard at the strangers and seemed muttering to himself; then, rising, he approached and addressed them in a strange fashion in which the one English word "bread" was distinguishable. It was Buckley one of the convicts who had escaped from Colonel Collins, and, after thirty two years' sojourning with the aborigines, again found himself among his countrymen.

Haydon is in fact a little confused here. The settlement which he describes as being opposite French Island was a spot, Settlement Point, near present day Corinella and was the site of the second official attempt to settle the Port Phillip area in 1826. The expedition was led by Captain Samuel Wright and comprised around twenty convicts and a handful of soldiers who constructed a fort, brick government house, a prison and a number of other buildings. This settlement was abandoned in 1828 when it was considered the land around Western Port was unfit for settlement on any great scale.<sup>7</sup>

When Haydon gave his lecture he had no way of knowing there was in fact a connection between this early settlement and Bethlem. Mathias Mather, the overseer at Settlement Point, had been in the Royal Navy until arrested for forgery in 1816. At the time of his arrest he had been drinking but, due to an injury to his head, he could no longer tolerate alcohol and became violent whereupon he was declared insane and sent to the criminal department at Bethlem. With the recovery of his mental health in 1818 he pleaded guilty to his crimes and was transported for life.<sup>8</sup> Haydon continued Buckley's story:

He had been a Grenadier, served under the Duke of York in Flanders, and had been transported for striking his superior officer. He was six feet seven inches in height. When discovered he at once joined the colonist, gradually re-acquired the English tongue and exercised a very useful influence over his late subjects. Colonel Arthur, the governor of Van Diemen's Land granted him a free pardon, and, as it was disagreeable for him to remain in the scene of his savage life, he became a constable in Van Diemen's Land. But either some original infirmity or long absence from civilised social life had impaired his intellect, and he rarely and unwillingly conversed on the events of his extraordinary career... The early history of this man I gathered from Samuel Sidney's writings but some of the more interesting portions orally from some of his late black companions. Sidney says Buckley escaped from an encampment on the shores of Port Phillip, but I believe the natives to be a better authority and they distinctly affirmed it was from the settlement of which I am talking. They have pointed out to me notches cut in the bark of Gum trees as having been done by Buckley and have described to me the spot where they found him. I never saw this man but he left many

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<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>8</sup> Keith Bowden, *The Western Port Settlement and its Leading Personalities* (Cheltenham, Victoria, 1970), pp. 46-51.

representatives behind him, whitey brown members of the Woeworong tribe of natives, to whom the country about Melbourne belonged when the first settlers made their appearance. The tribe ceased to speak of him by his native name and used to talk to me about him as "Big Buckley". All the Whitey Browns were known as 'piccanniny Buckleys' notwithstanding some stood over six feet in height. One of the old men of his tribe recollected his first meeting with Buckley half starved on the sea shore after he had sustained a miserable solitary existence - (for the two convicts who escaped with him wandered away and returned to their bondage) - upon small crabs, shellfish and pieces of sea weed. The old man's description was perfectly natural and I have no doubt quite true. He told me that at first the woman said it was Bun-jit-karno or the Devil!! Buckley's hair was very long and he was only partially covered by the remains of clothes. His eyes were sunk in his head, and whilst the tribe were watching him he lay down on the shore very often. When some members of the tribe approached him he did not attempt to escape, as they imagined he would, but made signs to them not to kill him. On finding that they were friendly, and gave him something to eat he began to cry. From that day he was adopted by the Woeworongs and became a great man amongst them. (*BL*, pp. 7-11)

Buckley was actually a member of the first party which, in 1803, had tried to establish a settlement, and it was this party which had been under the command of Lieutenant-Governor Collins. Collins had arrived in the *Calcutta* and briefly stayed at Sorrento on Port Phillip Bay but, considering the site to be unsuitable due to its lack of freshwater, had abandoned it after less than four months.<sup>9</sup> Buckley had escaped from this settlement and spent the next thirty-one years living with the Wathaurang people.<sup>10</sup> During his time with the Aborigines Buckley had been given a wife with whom he claimed to have had one daughter, not the numerous 'piccanniny Buckleys' of Haydon's account.<sup>11</sup> Haydon merges information from two questionable sources, Samuel Sidney and the Aborigines, and then inaccurately inscribes the escaped convict story onto Settlement Point a place, unlike Sorrento, that was within his own experience. This fascination Haydon had for Buckley is a sign that he recognized 'going native' as an alternative model of colonization that was at once attractive and repellent. It is also, perhaps, a manifestation of the belief in a return to the land as a means of redemption, be it for displaced peasants or criminals.

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<sup>9</sup> Shaw, *A History of the Port Phillip District*, pp. 1-12.

<sup>10</sup> Haydon spells this as 'Woeworang'.

<sup>11</sup> Marjorie J. Tipping, 'Buckley, William (1780-1856)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 1 (Melbourne, 1966), pp. 174-5.



Haydon's own 'return to the land' had marked his Australian experience and was reworked into his lecture. He described to his audience how and where water and food were to be found on French Island, and how he and Sanger had built their shelter:

It took us a fortnight to erect our hut the dimensions of which were about 15 feet by 12 feet. The frame work was the most difficult to accomplish, but that once put up we soon filled in the spaces between each support with wattles, plastering both sides with mud. This method of building is known in all our southern colonies as wattle and daub... A dozen sheets of bark stripped from the white gum trees at the back of our location, and kept in their place with heavy logs, formed an excellent roof. Our building was complete, not that you must understand it had four closed sides to it - Oh dear no. It had but three for we thought it advisable to leave one end open to the weather. I forget what ostensible reason we had for so doing but I am inclined to think now it was from an ardent desire to lose no more time but to set to work at once about the important matter of fortune making. Such as it was this was to us HOME. And if it only had three walls to it we could boast of having a window made of wood, and a door which really was capable of being shut and opened, tho' for the use to which we put either they might just as well not have existed - for one end of the hut being wall-less of course we did not want to open the window for air, nor the door for entrance or exit. (BL, pp. 30-1)

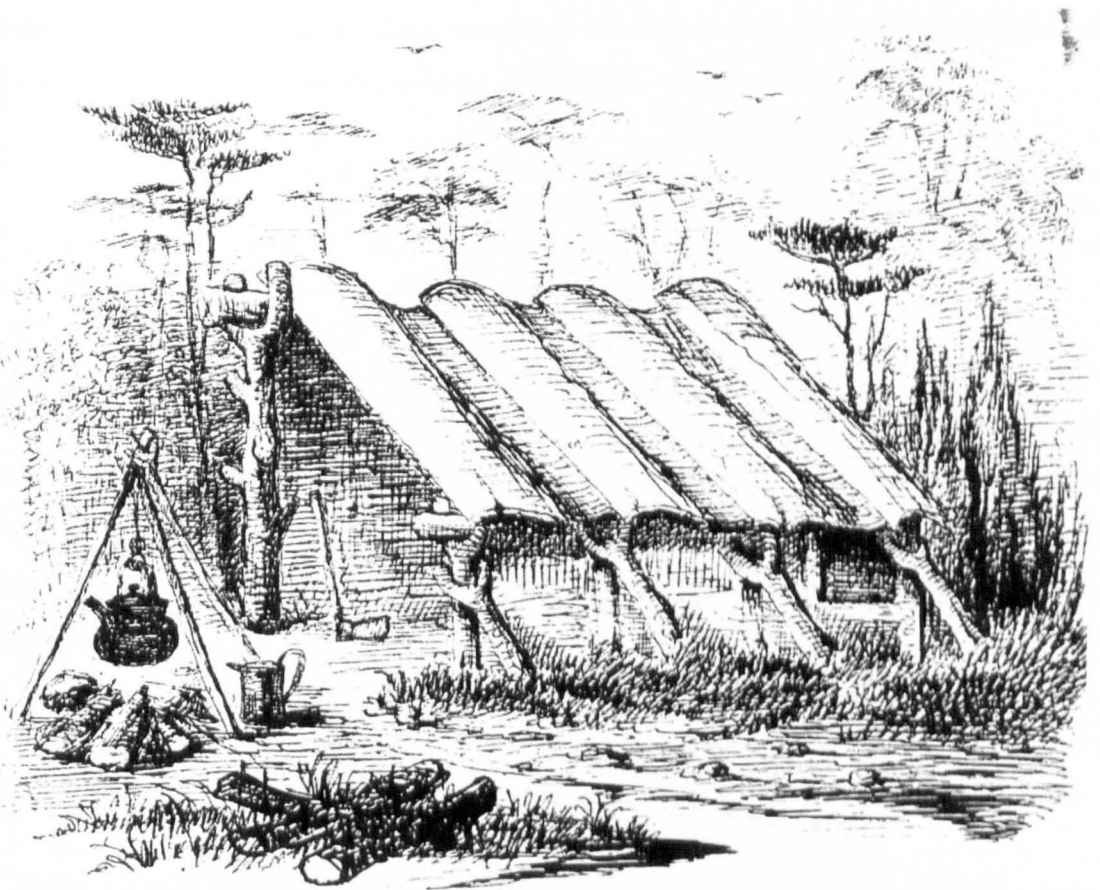


Figure 9.6 Ventilation Hut from *These, to a trusty bush companion*, William Ker, NLA.

What is noticeable here is how different, and romanticized, this 1860 sketch is when compared with the original sketch (see figure 3.4) made in 1843. However, the greater contrast is between the environment Haydon is describing and the environment in which he was presenting his lecture. A flimsy hut with only three walls and a superfluous door was the absolute antithesis of the confining bricks and locked doors of Bethlem. It again suggests that Haydon, at least on some subconscious level, used his recollections of the freedom of the Australian bush as an antidote to life at Bethlem, an antidote for himself as much as for the patients. The passage is also further evidence of Haydon's interest in survival and self-sufficiency in the bush. He very much saw his stay on French Island in that light saying: 'I was a sort of a Robinson Crusoe on a small scale without the advantage of having a Man Friday'. (*BL*, p. 6)<sup>12</sup> The Australian parallels with Man Friday were also not lost on Haydon who had relied on the help of Aborigines when in the Bush, and was an admirer of their bushcraft. This again helps explain his interest in Buckley, and also in the fate of Burke and Wills. Buckley had survived with the help of the Aborigines; without it Burke and Wills had not.<sup>13</sup> Haydon corresponded with his father on this subject and his father suggested that Haydon's own journey to Gippsland qualified him to know something of the predicament the explorers had faced:

Mr Wills desiring to be left alone to die! Burke sinking soon after and King then standing alone without looking to the assistance of the savages, listening to the hollow moaning of the midnight storm. What a subject for artists both of pen and pencil....<sup>14</sup>

Perhaps suggesting a theme for Haydon's own pen, Samuel was at the same time supporting, even exaggerating, his son's romancing of the bush experience. Nevertheless, Haydon had suffered real anxiety during the Gippsland exploration and was able to empathize with the predicaments of others. There is also evidence that the disappearance in 1848 of the German explorer, Ludwig Leichhardt, fired Haydon's imagination.

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<sup>12</sup> Haydon is overlooking the presence of Sanger here much as he was 'overlooked' by Robinson.

<sup>13</sup> 'James Morrill, Seventeen Years a Captive Amongst the Blacks', *The Australian News*, November 1865, HC. Morrill was another who caught Haydon's attention for having lived within an Aboriginal community.

<sup>14</sup> Samuel Haydon, letter to George Henry Haydon, 28 January 1862, HC. Burke was a fellow Devonian.



Figure 9.7 'Brave Leichardt [sic], 9 x 13, HC.<sup>15</sup>

When Samuel Haydon died in 1868, Haydon lost both a much loved parent and one who was always happy to take an interest in his Australian stories.<sup>16</sup>

Bush hospitality was also a theme of Haydon's lectures:

The Hospitality of the Australian Bush, as I knew it, is almost a sacred memory to me. May it be the same there now, for as I think of it it sends a thrill of pleasure to my heart. Oh how many services have I received and rendered there, thinking little about them at the time, but practically learning the lesson how dependent the good God evidently intended we should be upon each other, and how much the pleasure of living is enhanced through the practice of small kindnesses, and the thousand gentle amenities which add a grace even to the most illustrious and exalted, and clothe common life with dignity and beauty. In the bush the first question asked a stranger was not 'Who are you?' but 'What can I do for you?' I know it may be said 'All this is very well in a partially

<sup>15</sup> Haydon has copied this sketch from the original by Charles Rodius, 1846 reproduced in Samuel Sidney, *The Three Colonies of Australia*, 2<sup>nd</sup> revised edition (London, 1853), p. 271.

<sup>16</sup> Haydon's mother outlived his father by only a few weeks and also died in 1868. Elizabeth Haydon is a silent figure in the records of Haydon's life. Poor eyesight prevented her from writing to him.

settled, half-civilised country but it would not suit the condition of society elsewhere'. Granted, but then I wish it would, and it is perhaps because I can never hope to experience the like again that I cherish these memories so warmly. (BL, pp. 31-2)

Despite the sentimentality of Haydon's speech, small kindnesses were something Haydon valued in everyday life; his appreciation of and readiness to give them is something much commented on in the correspondence of his friends. Haydon is clearly aware that he is looking back through rose-tinted glasses, but the particular form of courtesy to be found in this frontier context was something that had made a big impression on the young Haydon. His articulation of the phenomenon as being an appropriate response in a 'half-civilized country' suggests that Haydon, like many another, assumed this kind of behaviour emerged in response to frontier pressures. But, again, this seems to deny the influence of codes of conduct that were informed by gentlemanly manners, courtesy, courtliness and the various bonds of fraternity. Even the language Haydon uses, 'sacred', 'illustrious', 'exalted', 'grace', 'dignity' and 'beauty' is more suggestive of Greek and Roman civility than the 'real', down-to-earth frontier experience. Although no doubt influenced by the sensibilities of his audience, Haydon found no difficulty in blending two quite separate traditions.

What is being suggested here (and was alluded to in the examination of *The Australian Emigrant* at page 201) is that Haydon's appreciation of bush manners was not incongruous with his position as a Victorian gentleman. What informed both codes of conduct was not mutually exclusive but rather stemmed from common roots. Haydon's experience of male camaraderie in Australia was forged before the influences of ANZAC and the evolution of mateship through its association with egalitarian, anti-authoritarian manliness (definitely not values of the Victorian gentleman), and later the less attractive forms of male chauvinism found in 'ockerism' and 'larrikinism'. In Haydon's time in Australia, the fraternal bond came from the exclusively male comradeship and support of a habitual companion, partner or friend, although it was often a relationship cemented by some kind of hardship or adversity.

Exclusively male comradeship was in fact very much a part of the Victorian 'club' life of the English, and masculinity found expression in activities such as the Volunteer Force, shooting, fishing and hunting.<sup>17</sup> Even the more intellectual pursuits

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<sup>17</sup> Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia*, p. 4. Gascoigne notes that Australia inherited a British club tradition which largely excluded females.

that could be followed in, for example, the Royal Society or the Royal Geographical Society, were bastions of maleness. Another manifestation of the male bond could be found in Freemasonry and strangely it is here that a direct link to one of Ward's sources of mateship can be made. Ward, and others, have suggested that the form of convict freemasonry described in the 1890s stories of 'Price Warung' (William Astley) including 'The Liberation of the First Three' and 'The Secret Society of the Ring' is evidence of one of the earliest forms of mateship.<sup>18</sup> In this context freemasonry is derived from an instinctive sympathy or understanding based on some common ties which then develop into a secret society. Organised Freemasonry was the epitome of this fraternity; it was about unquestioning support both given and received. Haydon was a very keen Freemason.

English Freemasonry enjoyed an unequalled period of growth during the nineteenth century with increased urbanization resulting in the formation of many new lodges. The appointment of Albert, Prince of Wales (later Edward VII), as Grand Master in 1874 further increased the popularity of the movement. Haydon had become a Freemason in Devon in 1851 but did not join a London lodge until 1860 when he was initiated into Doctor Hood's lodge, Old Union Lodge no. 54, which was frequented by most of the medical staff at Bethlem. Thereafter, Haydon seems to have been an enthusiastic Brother, founding the Lodge of Loyalty and Charity no. 1584 in 1875, and rising through the ranks to hold Grand Rank on three occasions. He was first Grand Steward in 1866, then Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, to which he was appointed by the Prince of Wales 'in recognition of his long and useful service to the Craft', and finally Grand Standard Bearer in 1889.<sup>19</sup> He also served as Steward and a Life-Governor of the Royal Masonic School for Girls.

One would hardly wish to overstate the similarity between the complex rituals of the Masonic lodge and the comradeship of Australian bush life. Yet, if there is any credence to this suggestion that they both have their roots in the same kind of male bonding, it is not surprising that both forms held an attraction for Haydon. It also seems pertinent here that Gascoigne has noted the importance of the Masonic lodge as an exponent of Enlightenment culture. Lodges were places where ritual provided an

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<sup>18</sup> Ward, *The Australian Legend*, p. 188; Wilde *et al.* *The Oxford Companion to Australian Literature*, p. 797. 'The Liberation of the First Three' includes an oath of allegiance which begins 'Hand to Hand/ On Earth, in hell/ Sick or Well/ On Sea on Land/ On the Square, ever.'

<sup>19</sup> 'Obituary,' *The Freemason*, 28 November 1891, p. 272.



alternative to religion, and where there was an emphasis on education and progress.<sup>20</sup> This complements some of the aspects of enlightenment thinking that have been seen to underpin Haydon's attitude toward Australia and Empire.



Figure 9.8 Photograph, Haydon in Masonic regalia, 1889, HC.

There is little doubt that Haydon's time in Australia came to represent for him days of a carefree youth and he concluded his lecture:

Oh! For the light heart again of one and twenty when there was no such word as Hardship in our dictionaries and enough afforded one more satisfaction than all the superfluities of after years. (*BL*, pp. 19-20)

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<sup>20</sup> Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia*, p. 4.

## Writing

Outside Bethlem Haydon also continued to address his favourite topic. His 1862 article for *Once a Week* recounted the French Island episode using the same material as he presented in his lecture. This appears to have been written in reaction to gold fever and with nostalgia for a more worthy age of exploration. It commenced with:

In these latter days of southern exploration and discovery, I know not if adventures of twenty years since will be found sufficiently attractive to meet with attention from a public well nigh satiated with accounts by every mail of fresh gold discoveries, and who are accustomed to read of undertakings in our Australian colonies involving consequences of vast magnitude and moment.<sup>21</sup>

Although the article ends with Haydon hinting at the further adventures he experience on the journey to Gippsland, it has not been possible to locate any further articles appearing in *Once A Week*.

In 1880 *The Illustrated London News* published an item on Melbourne, St Kilda and Brighton in the 1840s which drew on Haydon's descriptions from *Australia Felix*.<sup>22</sup> Also in 1880, the 'Practical Natural History' section of *Land and Water*, Haydon wrote on the subject of snake bites following an incident when a friend was bitten by an adder. He concluded:

Whilst on the subject of snakes, may I ask through your columns whether or not the bite of the diamond snake of Australia is poisonous? Some years ago one of the men in charge of the snake house at the Zoological Gardens assured me it was not, that one which he pointed out to me in the case had bitten him on the neck and that no ill effects had followed. All I can say is that the natives regard them as most venomous, and notwithstanding the assurance of the keeper to the contrary, I should like to make my will before allowing a diamond snake to bite me.<sup>23</sup>

One suspects that whatever the answer to his question, Haydon would have been more inclined to believe Aboriginal lore than the opinion of any expert from London Zoo. Moreover, his question was as much a way of demonstrating his superior knowledge on matters Australian, or rather Aboriginal knowledge to which he could claim privileged

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<sup>21</sup> Haydon, 'Out of the World', p. 697.

<sup>22</sup> 'Melbourne in 1840-1' and 'St Kilda and Brighton in 1846', *Illustrated London News*, 20 July 1880.

<sup>23</sup> Frank Buckland, 'Natural History Jumbles', *Land and Water*, 16 October 1880. It is not known exactly to which type of snake Haydon is referring. Haydon had also made a contribution to the correspondence section of *Land and Water*, 30 May 1868, p. 301. In a letter he wrote about a tame penguin he had encountered off the Cape of Good Hope when in a ship of war. As Haydon had never been to the Cape of Good Hope it appears that he was 'adopting' one of his father's stories.



access, as it was to learning about snakes. Once again Haydon was locating himself in the dangerous, masculine and romantic world of the Australian bush.

In 1881 the geologist Thomas Bury forwarded Haydon's *Land and Water* article to the *Daily Telegraph* (Melbourne) and asked if anyone knew the answer to the question of the venomousness of the diamond snake. Bury somewhat inflated Haydon's reputation as he wrote:

He [Haydon] lived in the Western Port District among the aborigines, having made French Island his place of abode; he was with the first party who went to Gippsland (with cattle dray and natives). Near the Tarwin he discovered coal, and brought away samples.<sup>24</sup>

This reference to coal is an intriguing one. Discovering coal was certainly not a claim that Haydon made publicly. Coal had been found in the Cape Paterson area in 1827 by William Hovell, but as this place was inaccessible it was largely ignored until rediscovered a decade later by Samuel Anderson.<sup>25</sup>

Haydon's 1888 article 'Australian Native Language' in *Notes and Queries*, gives a collection of Aboriginal words that he recalled from his time in Port Phillip. Evidently trying to preserve a language, notwithstanding his belief in the inevitable extinction of those who spoke it, Haydon was not only engaging in an anthropological debate but in an affirmation of his own experience of Australia and the value of that experience:

Who shall say that in the coming years such records may not be eagerly sought for, and that the pages of 'N & Q' may not be of considerable value for the generations yet to come of Antipodean philologists? May I, therefore, ask space for the following imperfect vocabulary... It is a sad thought that probably no one now exists to set me right if I have unwittingly fallen into any error.<sup>26</sup>

There follows a list of some hundred words and phrases of a dialect Haydon claimed to have been 'in vogue in 1843 amongst the "black fellows" on the shores of Port Phillip and Westernport and for some miles inland...'<sup>27</sup> Haydon was not wrong in his prediction that his records of vocabulary may have been, or indeed may still be, of use to subsequent philologists, and in 1899 *The Globe and Traveller* ran an article entitled

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<sup>24</sup> *Daily Telegraph* [Melbourne], 12 February 1881.

<sup>25</sup> Shaw, *A History of the Port Phillip District*, pp. 39 & 64. Thomas Bury was involved in locating coal seams around Western Port and negotiating with the Victorian government for the appropriate mining leases. In his letter of 1874 Bury had asked Haydon if he had ever found coal on French Island. Perhaps Haydon responded to the effect that he had found some in the Tarwin.

<sup>26</sup> 'Australian Native Language', *Notes and Queries*, 10 March 1888, p. 184.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

‘Papa and Mama’ which claimed that in all languages children use some sort of ‘ma’ and ‘da’ sound as words for mother and father:<sup>28</sup>

Again, the late Mr G. H. Haydon, one of the few men who had not only studied the speech of the Australian aborigines, but had heard it spoken on the site now occupied by the flourishing city of Melbourne, recorded that the children of the blacks used “marma” for father and “barba” for mother.<sup>29</sup>

Possibly other examples of Haydon’s written engagement with Australia exist unidentified, but it is clear that, whether through natural history or anthropology or just a good yarn, he was engaging with the network of imperial knowledge. This sharing of information, particularly scientific knowledge, was something that linked the Empire<sup>30</sup> and shows Haydon at the other end of the process he started when collecting specimens in Australia to send back to England.

## Art

When in 1884 ‘Garryowen’ (Edmund Finn) came to compile his ‘Chronicles of Early Melbourne’ for publication in the *Herald* he conferred on Haydon the distinction of having been Melbourne’s first drawing teacher:

Drawing as an educational accomplishment put in an appearance in 1840, and in January ’41 a Mr G H Haydon, teacher of drawing, through advertisement ‘begs to inform the inhabitants of Melbourne and its vicinity that he has removed his residence to Lonsdale Street, where he continues to give instruction in the art of drawing. He flatters himself that the manner in which his drawings are executed will secure him the patronage of a discerning public.’<sup>31</sup>

Haydon may have remained ignorant of the honour bestowed upon him were it not that Garryowen’s article was seen by old school friend and fellow artist Henry Hainsselin. Hainsselin, greatly amused, sent Haydon a copy of the *Herald* for 27 May 1884 saying:

...dive into the chronicles of ‘Early Melbourne’. I enjoyed it amazingly. See the first bold start at introducing the fine Arts into Victoria as a Humanizing Agent – Bravo GHH. I would not have missed the *Herald* for a pound.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>28</sup> That a request for this list of words was made by an Australian academic as recently as 2004 suggests Haydon’s work continues to be of interest.

<sup>29</sup> *The Globe and Traveller*, 29 November 1899, p. 1. The word ‘again’ suggests that Haydon had been referred to in other articles.

<sup>30</sup> John Gascoigne, ‘The Expanding Historiography of British Imperialism’, *The Historical Journal*, 49, 2 (2006), p. 583.

<sup>31</sup> ‘Garryowen’, ‘The Chronicles of Early Melbourne’, *Herald* (Melbourne), 12 May 1884.

<sup>32</sup> Henry Hainsselin, letter to George Haydon, 21 July 1884, HC; J. Kerr (ed.), *Dictionary of Australian Artists*, p. 338. Hainsselin illustrated Haydon’s book *Five Years’ Experience in Australia Felix*. He

That art was considered an ‘agent of civilization’ was not lost on Hainsselin who proceeded to forward Garryowen a photograph of Haydon and a copy of *Australia Felix* thinking that its ‘antiquity’ (of only forty years) would amuse him.<sup>33</sup> By this time Hainsselin had settled as an art teacher in St Kilda and in 1883 he won a gold-medal for his paintings on china, one of which he later gave to Haydon.<sup>34</sup>



Figure 9.9 Henry Hainsselin, ‘Red Bluff, St Kilda’, 1882, oil on china, 17 x 11, HC.

The *en verso* inscription states this to be the burial place of those who died from typhus on board the emigrant ship *Glen Huntley* in 1840, a poignant reminder to Haydon of an alternative ending to the migrant experience.

Some of the artwork Haydon produced while in Australia has been examined at Chapters 2 and 3, but long after his return Australia continued to act as artistic inspiration. One of his best surviving pictures was reproduced in the *Piccadilly Annual*. Entitled ‘A New Robinson Crusoe’ (further evidence of his fascination with this subject) it depicts the interior of the bushman’s hut, the various provisions tied up in a

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emigrated to Victoria in 1853 and went to the goldfields of Ballarat where he recorded scenes of the diggings in a series of watercolours. By the time Hainsselin wrote to Haydon in 1884 he was working as an art teacher at St Kilda. He returned to England in 1888.

<sup>33</sup> Henry Hainsselin, letter to Garryowen, *Herald*, (Melbourne), 12 May 1884.

<sup>34</sup> Kerr, p. 338.

pair of trousers, and a trap for killing the kangaroo rats which have been drawn as miniature kangaroos complete with joeys.



*"I always slept in a nightcap; it reminded me so of England. By-the bye, I must not forget to mention here a pair of canvas trousers which I was eventually compelled to apply to a novel purpose, for the rats became so bold as the stores diminished, that I had the greatest difficulty to preserve them from their attacks. I bothered them, however, at last, and I shall trust to my pencil to inform the reader by what expedient this was accomplished."*

Figure 9.10 'A New Robinson Crusoe', *The Piccadilly Annual*, n.d., HC<sup>35</sup>

The commentary to this picture gives it an interesting twist: Haydon is in England imagining being in Australia where he is being reminded of England.

Humour is always evident in Haydon's art, his journals, letters and books. It was a humour that served him well as a means of coping with fear or the unpleasant conditions that were encountered on the sea voyages, in Gippsland or Bethlem. It is often acknowledged that much of what constitutes Australian humour was forged from adversity. Through his sense of humour Haydon also showed himself to be something

<sup>35</sup> 'A New Robinson Crusoe', *The Piccadilly Annual*, n.d., p. 92. This illustration was reproduced from 'Out of the World' in *Once A Week*, 1862, and the caption is taken from that text.

of a 'knocker'. Quite often, however, the knocks were directed in a self-deprecating way at himself, partly as a way of avoiding unkindness to others and partly because Haydon was not adverse to drawing attention to himself. This desire to deflate pomposity or anything overly serious has come to be identified with a particularly Australian outlook and forms part of the Tall Poppy Syndrome where it is considered best to understate oneself lest others should cut you down to size. One might equally say that Haydon's humour was suited to the whimsy of the Victorian gentleman but there is no doubt he found Australia a strong stimulus. Perhaps the best example can be seen in the booklet of pictures, *These, to a trusty bush companion, William Ker* produced in 1860 which humorously recount (and revise) his time around Western Port. This collection appears to have been done to mark Ker's departure (possibly back to Australia) and combines elements of the barilla episode with the swanning/fishing trip that Haydon had enjoyed with Ker in 1844. Amongst these a sketch entitled 'Prospective and Retrospective' shows Haydon was sensing the passage of time and was aware of the distinct stages of life. Aged thirty-eight, settled in career and family life, Haydon looked back to his twenty-one year old self.





1844 "Well I declare! How you are improved in appearance!

I really should not have known you but for your nose."

1860 (Aside) Unmitigated Ruffian! "Fellow I don't know you and never met with you before."

1844 "Come now! That's too good! Not known. Me! Gammon!!

Figure 9.11 'Prospective and Retrospective' from *These, to a trusty bush companion*, William Ker, NLA.

The two characters facing each other represent the opposition of established, respectable middle-age and raw yet confident youth. The Haydon of 1860 claims not to know the 'unmitigated ruffian' of his 1844 self but Haydon is clearly feeling nostalgia for that younger 'Australian' self. At another level, the sketch might stand as a metaphor for the colonial relationship with the mother country, the latter looking to the younger offspring with disapproval of its coarseness, but also with a certain longing.

Australia was still fuelling Haydon's imagination, and his continued interest in Victoria can be seen in the carefully preserved copies of *Melbourne Punch* and the *Illustrated Melbourne News* which were being sent to him by a friend. Yet, despite these apparent attempts to keep up with the progress of the colony of Victoria, Haydon was displaying a particular condition of the migrant. The land left behind is fixed in time at the date of departure; for Haydon his Australia remained forever in the 1840s.

The drawings from *These, to a trusty bush companion, William Ker* were placed on show in 2003 at the National Library of Australia as part of an exhibition called *Travellers Art* where they were in the company of works by artists such as Augustus Earle and S. T. Gill. They were, however, misplaced in an exhibition that claimed to be of ‘drawings, watercolours, sketchbooks, diaries, hand-drawn maps, manuscripts and photographs, all of which were made whilst travelling’ and which therefore displayed ‘first-hand immediacy’.<sup>36</sup> The premise of the exhibition was that being on the move obliged artists to work with ‘flair and brevity rather than finish and embellishment’. Haydon’s sketches, done in 1860 from the comfort of his home in London, were retrospective and very definitely embellished. In many ways they were a parody of the very kind of work the exhibition was trying to present. Haydon was not only giving a humorous depiction of bush survival but also of the way in which it was recorded. That he was poking fun at the conventions of such art as can be seen if one compares his ‘A general view of Rabbit Island’ below with the earnest topographical profiles seen at figure 2.5.

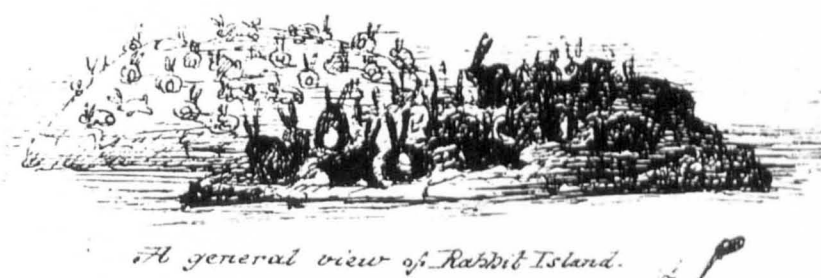


Figure 9.12 ‘A General View of Rabbit Island’, from *These, to a trusty bush companion, William Ker*, NLA.

Haydon had commenced his career at Bethlem on a salary of £250 per annum which, by the time he retired, had risen to £600 although the provision of the house and allowances for coal and gas would have greatly increased his gross remuneration. Geoffrey Best suggests that a salary above £150 per annum was just enough to push one into the ranks of the middle classes, and would probably have allowed for the employment of some kind of domestic help.<sup>37</sup> The census of 1881 shows the Haydon

<sup>36</sup> ‘Travellers Art’, exhibition, National Library of Australia, 2003.

<sup>37</sup> Geoffrey Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-75* (London, 1971), p. 110.



household had two live-in female servants; there was also a gardener.<sup>38</sup> Haydon's sons were to receive good educations at various fee-paying schools: Walton went to Cranleigh, George to Christ's Hospital, Frank to King's College School, and Rhys to City of London. Though not wealthy, Haydon would have been financially comfortable and he felt he had come a long way since his impoverished Port Phillip days.

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<sup>38</sup> 1881 Census, Ancestry.com and The Church of Jesus Christ of latter-day Saints *1881 England Census* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: The Generation Network, Inc, 2004.



*What changes a few years bring about to be ware !  
 Here was I in 1844 with my pet Jock, and writing  
 myself 'We George King of Cockapoo and French Islands.'*



*Whilst now in 1860 I have Milton and Geordie,  
 her pets and subscribe myself simply (Glad)  
 'We transit gloria mundi'*

Figure 9.13 'King George' from *These, to a trusty bush companion*, William Ker, NLA.

The above sketch draws on the 'contrast' Haydon saw in his life and like figure 9.12 is concerned with the 'then and now' as well as the 'here and there'. Australia was continually used as a point of reference. By suggesting that he has fallen from his position as 'King George of French Island' to plain G.H.H., Haydon was not only drawing attention to the fact that he has actually moved up in the world, but also that his progress has come with a price: that price was the loss of youth and freedom.

Little has so far been said about Haydon's Christian faith. Whilst it appears to have been solid and fundamental to Haydon's perception of life and death, it did not impinge on his belief in science and progress.<sup>39</sup> There is, however, a sketch from the series dedicated to William Ker which suggest that Haydon did not see the conventional rituals of worship as being essential to communicating with God. Indeed, in Australia physical distance and the lack of a long established church often pushed religion into the private sphere.<sup>40</sup> This may have had a lasting influence on Haydon and hence his depiction of the bush church below.

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<sup>39</sup> Haydon's notebooks often make reference to the Bible or a sermon. There is no record of where Haydon attended church although Bethlem had its own chapel and services.

<sup>40</sup> Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia*, p. 170.



Figure 9.14 A bush church from *These, to a trusty bush companion*, William Ker, 1960, NLA.

### Claiming the Gippsland road

Though seldom in need of a reminder of his Australian life, Haydon must have been utterly astonished when one day in 1868 a Mr Carl Peart wandered into his office at Southwark and left a package containing the journal Haydon had written in 1844 and lost during the journey to Gippsland.<sup>41</sup> The journal had been found by some Aborigines who gave it to Mr Cuthbert, a squatter at Western Port, who gave it to Mr Bury of

<sup>41</sup> This was not the journal containing his account of the Gippsland journey (J5) but the one kept on French Island (J3).



Melbourne who traced Haydon's father's address through the widow of a wine merchant from Exeter. And so, battered and torn, the journal came to be returned to its author some twenty-four years later, its extraordinary journey testament to the informal networks of the British imperial world through which such connections could be made.

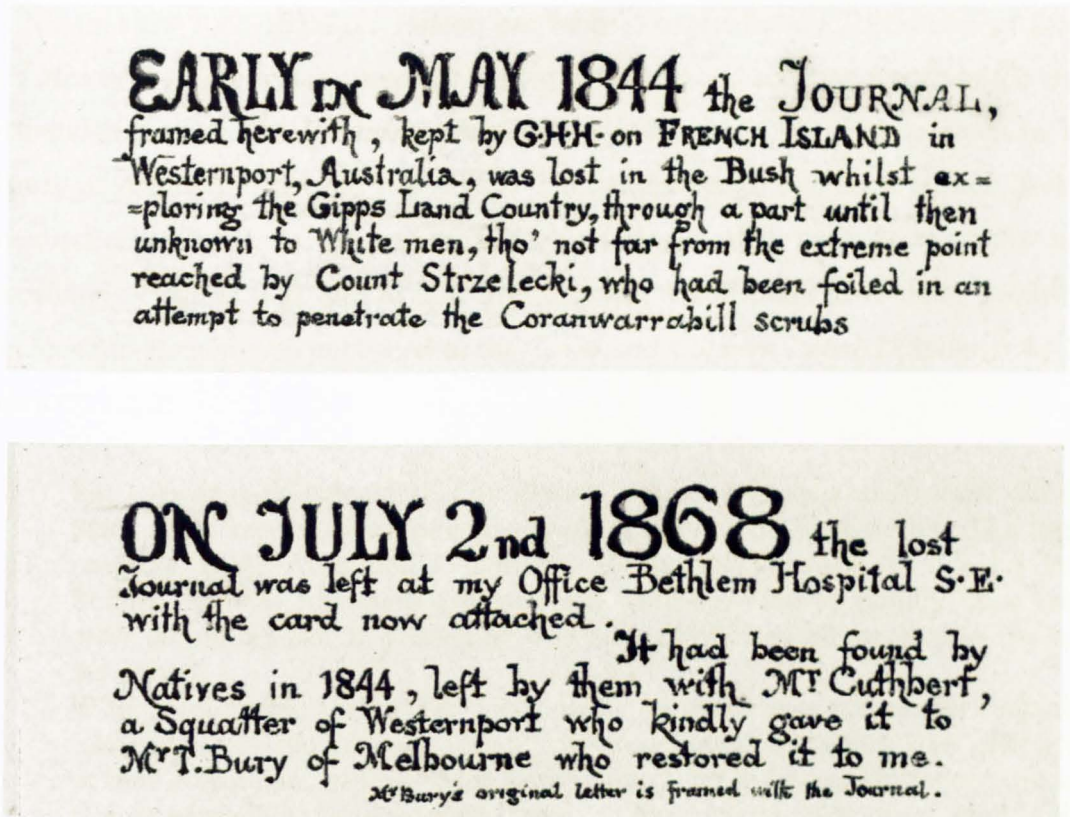


Figure 9.15 G. H. Haydon, notice accompanying journal, HC.<sup>42</sup>

The letter from Thomas Bury which accompanied the returned journal told of the deaths of many of the Aborigines Haydon had known, and of the deaths of his old friends William Thomas and George White. It told also of the next stage of imperial progress; whereas the Gippsland explorers of Haydon's time were in search of new pastures, Bury was exploring the area in search of coal and minerals.<sup>43</sup>

Haydon had recorded his account of the journey to Gippsland in *Australia Felix* in 1846, but Haydon's perception of the significance of this journey altered over time. In 1872 Haydon had become a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society then located in Saville Row. This was the premier institution for promoting exploration, often funding expeditions and rewarding explorers. Here Haydon may well have come across

<sup>42</sup> Haydon had the journal and accompanying letter framed and it remained behind glass until the 1950s when opened by Judith Whitlock.

<sup>43</sup> Thomas Bury, letter to George Henry Haydon, 23 January 1886, NLA.

a number of names and faces familiar to him from his Australian days. Perhaps he met Count Strzelecki who had been awarded the Founder's Medal for his exploration of south-east Australia, or fellow Gippsland pioneer William Brodribb who joined the society in 1874.<sup>44</sup>

In 1879 John Henniker Heaton published *The Australian Dictionary of Dates and Men of the Time* which purported to give 'a faithful and accurate record of the most distinguished men, and the most remarkable events which have taken place in the history of Australia, from the year 1542.'<sup>45</sup> In the preface to this book Heaton invited his readers to bring to his attention any inaccuracy that needed correction and accordingly Haydon took him to task over his entry on William and Albert Brodribb. His letter to Heaton was published in the *Town and Country Journal* (Sydney) on 21 February 1880:

Sir, - As an early colonist of Port Phillip, and one who in a small sense did the State some service, I venture to intrude myself upon your notice. The rapid progress of the Australian settlements, and notably Victoria (in my day Port Phillip), and the important events which have crowded so rapidly upon each other during the last 35 years may well have obliterated all memory of me and my doings.

With considerable diffidence, I beg leave to make you acquainted with the following facts, not with any idea of my name finding a place in your gallery of notable Australians in your "Men of the Time"; but to be used in future editions of your admirable "Dictionary of Dates", to illustrate the early opening up of the Gippsland country from Port Phillip.

Referring to your book, in the article "Australian Land Explorers" page 21, it is stated that Dr Edward Barker, Albert Brodribb (brother of W. A. B.) and Edward Hobson, with two black fellows, were the first to make their way on foot, June, 1841 from Melbourne to Gippsland, and then it added "the present road into Gippsland follows their tracks".

In a work I published in 1846, "Five Years' Experience in Australia Felix", Hamilton Adams and Co., at page 45, I wrote "I had the fortune to be amongst the first party who succeeded in getting from the Port Phillip side into Gippsland with stock," and a full account of the journey will be found at pp. 121 to 158. I joined the party about thirty miles from Melbourne, and on 23<sup>rd</sup> April, 1844, we arrived on the site of the abandoned settlement of 1827 on the W Creek (so called from its windings) in the Bay of Westernport. Our party consisted of G A Robinson, Chief Protector of the Aborigines, myself (a volunteer), six native policemen under a white sergeant, and three government men. We had a dray, eight bullocks, several horses, and provisions for three weeks. The provisions we did not spare, imagining we should do our work in about a fortnight; but the sequel proved otherwise. Stores ran very short, we went through great

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<sup>44</sup> Strzelecki died in 1873.

<sup>45</sup> J. H. Heaton, *Australian Dictionary of Dates and Men of the Time* (London, 1879), p. 20.

privations, and at last we had to kill one of the working bullocks for food; a horse also died of starvation. However we succeeded in cutting a road for the cattle and dray through the dense scrubs, and on 25<sup>th</sup> of May we accomplished the object of our journey and reached the Albert River, Gippsland where now stands the town of Alberton. We were the first to open a practicable route for cattle, and within three weeks 1300 head were driven down upon our tracks and more continued to follow. Thus was the first road into Gippsland opened. We followed no tracks, in fact, there were none to follow; but, on the contrary, fairly and squarely cut our way through many miles of scrub, selecting the most promising site for the road as we proceeded. I know this road was the only one in use when I left the colony, in 1845, and I have always congratulated myself on having left a permanent mark behind me – I regarded my road as *the* road. – I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient servant,

Geo. H. Haydon<sup>46</sup>

Heaton's reply thanked Haydon for the information saying:

The valuable information about early exploration in Gipps-Land [sic] and the prominent part you took will give rise to a good discussion. Mr Brodribb is in Sydney, and will not like to have wrested from him a reputation he luxuriates upon.

Will you kindly supply me with some dates about your own life, when and where born. Where educated, date of arrival in Australia etc. etc.<sup>47</sup>

As Brodribb was still in Australia, he probably had the advantage of getting his version of events taken as the authoritative one and it is not known whether Haydon pursued the matter. Had he done so he would have realised they were in fact talking of two different roads, as the route taken by Brodribb, Hobson and Barker in 1841 was much further north, nearer the present day Princes Highway whereas Haydon's road would have been closer to what is now the Bass Highway. This though is beside the point; what is more illuminating is the way in which Haydon seeks to write himself into the history of Australian exploration as a means through which to reclaim the masculine endeavour and frontier experience. It is also revealing of how Haydon saw himself in an imperial history that was observed through, what Carter claims to be, the constructs of chronology and propriety which much of Australia's subsequent history has followed, Carter feels, to its own detriment.<sup>48</sup> Getting his name into Heaton's 'gallery of notable Australians' would have delighted Haydon despite his disingenuous claims to the contrary.

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<sup>46</sup> George Henry Haydon, 'The Road from Melbourne to Gippsland', *Town and Country Journal*, 21 February 1880, p. 353.

<sup>47</sup> John Henniker Heaton, letter to George Henry Haydon, 1 January 1880, HC.

<sup>48</sup> Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, pp. xvii-xix.



The journey to Gippsland did ultimately gain Haydon a different kind of place in the records of early Victoria. *The Australian Encyclopaedia* gives the following under the entry for 'Lyrebird':

Following much airy guesswork regarding lyrebirds' breeding activities, genuine information on the subject was first published by G. H. Haydon, a Gippsland trail-blazer who in his 'Five Years' Experience in Australia Felix' 1846 accurately described the large domed nest and the single dark coloured egg.<sup>49</sup>

With his love of natural history Haydon may not have been displeased that it is for this that his journey has ultimately been remembered.

John Henniker Heaton returned to England in 1883 and settled in London becoming in 1886 the Member for Canterbury in the House of Commons. Here his continual promotion of colonial matters earned him the title of 'the member for Australia'. Heaton was to play an important part in imperial communications with his campaign for cheaper telegraph and postal charges within the Empire.<sup>50</sup> His penny post was finally adopted between Britain and Australia in 1905, something which Haydon must have applauded having complained in 1844 of paying one shilling and ten pence excess postage on a letter received from England.<sup>51</sup>

The episode of the claiming of the road all those years later is interesting for what it shows of Haydon reinvigorating his own experiences and then elevating them, this time to the annals of exploration and colonial aggrandizement. His talk of 'service', 'volunteer' and 'privation' also suggests his concern with claiming merit; merit for the selfless act of opening a road; merit for a service to the colony, and by extension a service to the Empire.

### Stuck in time

Haydon, as a returned colonist, clearly revelled in his colonial knowledge, but he was continuing to draw from the increasingly insignificant and outdated source of material that was his own experience. This was part of the condition of any returned traveller. The rapidity with which Melbourne had developed only increased the gap between the place of Haydon's imagination and the reality. Despite a continued interest in Australia,

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<sup>49</sup> Bruce W. Pratt (gen. ed.), *The Australian Encyclopaedia* (Sydney, 1958), s.v. 'lyrebird'; Haydon's description was also reproduced in Samuel Sidney, *The Three Colonies of Australia*, pp. 282-3.

<sup>50</sup> B. K. de Garis, 'Sir John Henniker Heaton', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 4 (Melbourne, 1972), p. 372.

<sup>51</sup> George Henry Haydon, letter to Samuel Haydon, 21 July 1844, IIC.

Haydon seemed strangely disinclined to bridge that gap. It is known that he was in contact with contemporary Melbourne through correspondence with Henry Hainsselin, Thomas Bury, John Martin and others. Indeed, Hainsselin may have been trying to tempt Haydon into returning as he sent him a digging licence and some gold dust.<sup>52</sup> Someone was sending him copies of Australian newspapers; Bury was providing him with news of the Aborigines (and it seems photographs of them) and of other old Port Phillip friends.<sup>53</sup> Haydon was still taking an interest in the fate of the Aborigines and Bury's response to Haydon here suggests feelings of guilt had been expressed:

...I quite agree with you about the Blacks – poor fellows - we have behaved badly to them. Some of the Western Port Blacks are living but I think only a very few, Peter, who knows you, and his luber and two or three other women ... Mr Thomas is dead and the Blacks lost a good friend in him.<sup>54</sup>



Figure 9.16 Martin Goulbourne Tribe, photograph, 1878, HC.

<sup>52</sup> 'Colony of Victoria Miner's Rights', HC. Haydon preserved the gold dust in a small container marked 'Golden sand from Johnson's claim, Woolshed Creek, Victoria. Sent by Henry Hainsselin in 1866', HC.

<sup>53</sup> Haydon had enclosed a photo of himself in his reply to Bury who commented that Haydon bore a strong resemblance to the Chairman of Committees of the Houses of Parliament in Melbourne, Bly Davies.

<sup>54</sup> Thomas Bury, letter to George Henry Haydon, 23 January 1874, HC; Massalo, *Journey to Aboriginal Victoria*, p. 169, refers to Peter and Eliza as being two of the last of the Western Port Aborigines.

Amongst the photos sent to Haydon was this *cartes de visite* which is dated 1879 and labelled as ‘Martin Goulbourne Tribe.’ Such studio portraits, produced for a mass-market, were often made of Aboriginal Christian converts.<sup>55</sup> Unlike Haydon’s sketch of Benbo there is nothing incongruous here in the clothes and props. The small book (probably a prayer-book) is no longer ridiculous because the Aboriginal woman might have been able to read and appreciate its contents. The purpose of such images was to celebrate the success of missionary enterprise and conversion of the Aborigines to a settled, Christian way of life, and to this extent they were reassuring to the European viewer. Other generic convention in photographs of the Aboriginal population came from ethnographic interest, interest partly stimulated by the continued belief that the Aboriginal race would die away and therefore needed to be recorded.<sup>56</sup> Such photographs were usually staged in a studio although figure 9.17 below does look to be taken in the field. Although the presence of the clothing and king plate show European influences, such images also suggested a nostalgia for a way of life that was passing.

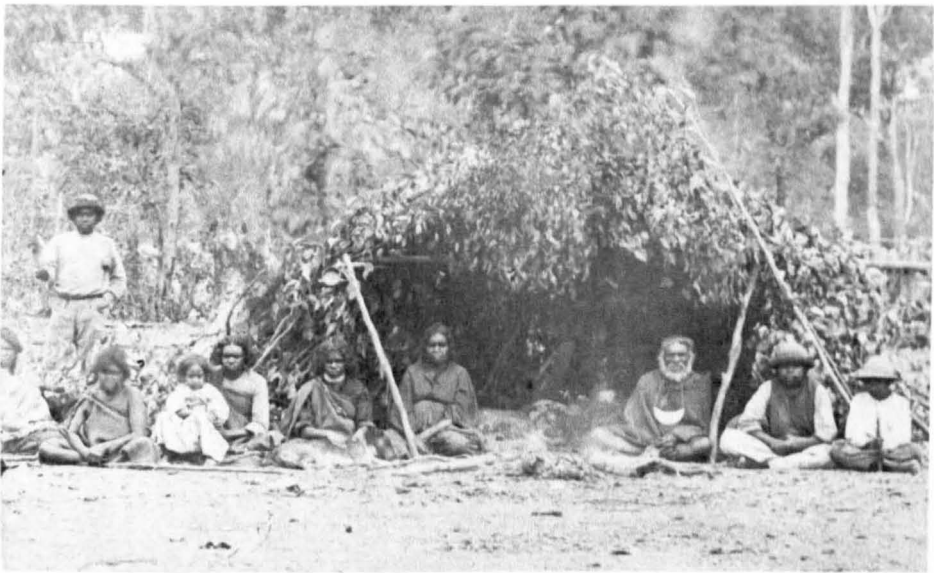


Figure 9.17 Group of Aborigines, undated photograph, HC.

Haydon’s personal library did contain books on post 1840s Australia, and in Haydon’s own copy of *Australia Felix* there are over sixty articles on Australian matters pasted between the pages. At some stage Haydon had started to index and correct *Australia Felix*, and it is conceivable that he was contemplating producing a history on

<sup>55</sup> Bain Atwood, *The Making of the Aborigines* (Sydney, 1989), pp. 46-7.

<sup>56</sup> Elizabeth Edwards, ‘Representations and Reality: Science and the Visual Image’, Howard Morphy and Elizabeth Edwards (eds), *Australia in Oxford* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 39-44.

Victoria. However, the material he was collecting, bar one or two exceptions, all related to people or subjects dating from his time (or earlier) in Port Phillip. For example, there are items on the death of Surveyor Robert Hoddle and Melbourne founder William Henty in 1881, and of Port Phillip squatter Sir John Robertson in 1891, all of whom were prominent Melbourne citizens of the 1840s.<sup>57</sup> There are also items on the Aborigines, especially their decline. Reports of soaring land prices were also considered to be of interest, but references to gold are conspicuous by their absence.

This fixation with the past and lack of interest in the post 1840s Australia raises some particular questions. Was Haydon bitter that he had departed from Australia too early to benefit from the gold rushes? Did he speculate on what his plots of land at Merri Creek, long since sold, would be worth? Perhaps he could not reconcile his 'frontier' Melbourne, and all that had stood for, with the great city it was by the 1880s. Perhaps he feared that to move on in his imagination from the Port Phillip of the 1840s would be to lose something of his younger self. In his observations on the gentlemen of the Port Phillip District de Serville offers another explanation. There were many, like Haydon, who saw the 1840s in Port Phillip as the golden age of pastoralism and an age which the discovery of gold brought to an abrupt end. The avarice of the gold rushes marked the end of innocence and the activities of the diggings overshadowed the achievements of the earlier pioneers and settlers. The consequence of this was, once again, nostalgia: '...the gold rushes sealed off the pastoral age and the survivors invested the early years with an Arcadian simplicity'.<sup>58</sup> This, especially in the context of what has already been said of the construction of Arcady in *Australia Felix*, seems a convincing reason for the strength of Haydon's commitment to 1840s Port Phillip. Perhaps, too, he was sensing the increased mood for Australian nationalism which would further separate him from his colonial Australia.

It seems likely that even had the opportunity of returning to Australia arisen, Haydon may not have wished to do so.<sup>59</sup> The last of Haydon's newspaper cuttings, dated September 1891, is entitled 'Funeral of an Aboriginal Cricketer'<sup>60</sup> and marks the death of Mullagh, a member of the Aboriginal team that toured England in 1868.

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<sup>57</sup> *Argus*, 25 October 1881; *Daily Chronicle*, 9 May 1891.

<sup>58</sup> De Serville, *Port Phillip Gentlemen* p. 167.

<sup>59</sup> 'Inmates in Lunatic Asylums', *The Australasian*, n.d. This is the only example of Haydon directly connecting his life in England to Australia.

<sup>60</sup> *Daily Chronicle*, 22 September 1891.

Haydon has ticked this item suggesting he may have seen a match; the Oval cricket ground was after all right on his doorstep.

### Anglo-Colonials

It has already been established that Haydon was far from unique in returning from the colonies and as the nineteenth century progressed it became increasingly easy for people to come and go between Great Britain and the Antipodes. The journey that had taken Haydon 118 days in the creaking little barque *Theresa* could by 1870 be made in fewer than sixty on fast ships such as the *Great Britain* (although the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 had already heralded the end of the sailing ship era) and Anglo-Colonials were common in London.<sup>61</sup> There would have been plenty of contemporaries of Haydon's who, having had a colonial career, retired to England. Indeed, just about the same time as Haydon was moving to London his old travelling companion, George Augustus Robinson, returned from Australia and was also in London where he was introduced to the writers Mary and William Howitt, themselves only recently back from Australia. (It was William's brother, Richard Howitt, who had gone in search of Haydon on French Island.) If Haydon had done well in producing two books out of his five years in Australia, William Howitt did even better squeezing out five books from only two years' stay as well as writing on the subject for Dickens's *Household Words*.<sup>62</sup>

The Howitts moved in artists' circles, particularly in those of the Pre-Raphaelites with whom Haydon's brother was associated. It was through the Howitts that Robinson was introduced to James Baker Pyne, a distinguished landscape artist. In 1853 Robinson (by then a widower) married Pyne's daughter Rose, twenty-eight years his junior. Robinson found his working-class background hampered his acceptance in certain circles and, though generally reluctant to enter Victorian club life, he did join the Ethnological Society and attended some meetings of the Aboriginal Protection Society. Before long Robinson's itchy feet took him off to Europe and finally into retirement in Bath where surrounded by his journals, Australian art collection,<sup>63</sup> and Aboriginal skulls and artefacts, he planned to write a book on Aborigines. Robinson provided William

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<sup>61</sup> K. S. Inglis, 'Going Home: Australians in England 1870-1900,' in Fitzpatrick (ed.) *Home or Away?*, p. 116-17.

<sup>62</sup> The best known of these was *A Boy's Adventures in the Wilds of Australia* (London, 1854).

<sup>63</sup> It is possible that Haydon's Gippsland sketches had come to England with Robinson. Robinson's material was closely guarded by his family until 1938 when it was purchased by the Mitchell Library and returned to Australia after the Second World War. The collection appears not to contain any work by Haydon.

Howitt with material for *The History of Discovery in Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand* (1865) but his own work was never written and he died in 1866.<sup>64</sup>

Robinson, Heaton and Howitt as returned colonists suggest ways in which returnees might continue to engage with the colonies, and they serve to contrast Haydon's apparent detachment. Despite his interest in Aboriginal matters: why was Haydon not a member of some kind of society to promote their cause? With his interest in emigration: why was he not a member of the many emigration organizations that flourished? Why was he not, like his close friend Roger Acton, a member of the Royal Colonial Institute which had been founded in 1865 specifically for people with an interest in the promotion of Empire?<sup>65</sup> Here Haydon could have met with the likes of William Westgarth, a contemporary of his in Melbourne who had gone on to be a successful merchant and had written a number of books on the colony of Victoria and the prospects of the Aborigines.<sup>66</sup> Whilst it is true that Haydon had joined the Royal Geographical Society, there is no record of his having taken much of an interest in this and he, along with his son George, resigned in 1885.<sup>67</sup> Indeed, there is no evidence to suggest that Haydon ever actively sought the company of those who may have had similar experiences to himself. Perhaps to have done so would be to negate the feeling of his own exotic value.

Haydon's lack of involvement with Aboriginal causes in London may have stemmed from pessimism about the future of the Aboriginal race. Despite his compassion and sympathy, indeed, because of it, Haydon understood enough about Aboriginal culture to know that neither Christian evangelism nor Enlightenment values were going to prove successful in bringing the native Australian to a European way of life. He also knew they were not going to be allowed to pursue their own way of life. For Haydon this knowledge must have undermined his faith in imperialism, or at least that part of imperialism that justified occupation of other lands on the basis that the indigenous and 'inferior' population would improve and progress through contact with a

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<sup>64</sup> Rae-Ellis, *Black Robinsons*, pp. 258-61.

<sup>65</sup> Roger Acton was the author of *Our Colonial Empire* (London, 1881).

<sup>66</sup> Royal Commonwealth Institute, *Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute*, 15 vols (London, 1879-1909). Other members who would have been contemporaries of Haydon's in Port Phillip include Edward Wilson, James Bonwick, Francis Labillière, William Henty and W. A. Brodribb.

<sup>67</sup> Haydon's letter of resignation is missing from the records at the Royal Geographical Society; Robert A. Stafford, 'Scientific Exploration and Empire', in A. Porter (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, pp. 299-300. One possible explanation for his loss of interest is that the RGS had traditionally concentrated primarily on exploration but by the 1880s, with much of the globe already explored, the society was being reshaped into a more specialist scientific institution.

'superior' race. More generally, the second half of the nineteenth century saw a hardening in attitudes toward indigenous people and a move away from the humanitarian concerns that had been prevalent during Haydon's time in Australia.

Haydon may have avoided colonial circles but during the summer of 1886 the colonies came to London for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. 'Colinders', as the exhibition became known, was a means of promoting Empire and bringing together colonial leaders.<sup>68</sup> It was a culmination of the efforts of the Royal Colonial Institute which was home to a group of returned colonists. With their enthusiasm for empire these Anglo-Colonists spawned the Imperial Federation League which pushed for the promotion of, and greater links within, the Empire. For the accompanying guide to this exhibition Haydon's picture *Melbourne in 1840* was again reproduced alongside the one from the 1875 *Australasian Sketcher* (see figures. 2.6 & 2.9).<sup>69</sup> The sketch now took on a political purpose by showing how far Melbourne had progressed in such short a time. Haydon was presented with a personal copy of the exhibition handbook by the president of the Royal Commission for Victoria, but as he leafed through the pictures of the Houses of Parliament, the International Exhibition Hall, town halls, university buildings, churches, and fine mansions built from the wealth of gold, there could have been little for Haydon to recognise. One must assume that Haydon was among the estimated five million visitors to the exhibition at South Kensington, but if so he made no record of it.

Nostalgia is a common thread which runs through all Haydon's presentation of Australia in later life. What he chose to write about, to draw, to speak on, were all concerned with a bygone era that he, and others, perceived to be a golden one. Ward has noted that the nineteenth-century tradition of new-comers to the Australian colonies seeking to mimic 'up-country' ways and manners was because this was seen as being more truly 'Australian' than anything the town had to offer. Ward goes on to suggest an analogy between this early admiration of the 'noble bushman' with that of attitudes toward the 'noble savage'.<sup>70</sup> In both cases there was a romantic nostalgia for a bygone innocence and simplicity, ideals that appealed to Haydon.

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<sup>68</sup> Inglis, 'Going Home: Australians in England 1870-1900', pp. 116-17.

<sup>69</sup> *Handbook of Victoria, Colonial and Indian Exhibition, London 1886* (Melbourne, 1886), n.p. Haydon's edition is personally dedicated to him by Joseph Bosisto M.P., President of the Commission for Victoria.

<sup>70</sup> Ward, *The Australian Legend*, pp. 12 & 15.



It has been argued that Haydon's eagerness to promote himself as bushman and explorer was also tied up with renewal of masculinity, with validation of self, and with achievement and service. This was all part of how Haydon constructed his Anglo-Australian identity. In addition, the preservation of the illusion of an unchanged Australia was a means by which Haydon could both preserve the essence of his youth and counterbalance his place not only in Bethlem but in an increasingly complex material society.

## Chapter 10: Retirement and 'After the End'



Figure 10.1 'After the End' from *Happy Days at Hurstbourse*, 1879, HRO.

In many ways Haydon's London career typified the socio-economic dynamics of the high-Victorian era. Urbanization was in full swing with many, as Haydon had done, moving to the larger cities. Greater London had increased in population from 2.6 million in 1851 to 4.7 million in 1881.<sup>1</sup> The depression of the 1840s had given way to two decades of economic growth and prosperity with virtual free trade and relative peace. Britain was the wealthiest country in the world and the economy was fuelled by the vast reserves of bullion arriving at the Bank of England from California and, of course, from Australia.

Haydon was an example of the burgeoning middle-classes whose members came from the professions as lawyers, churchmen, doctors and teachers, and from commerce as bankers, clerks and civil servants.<sup>2</sup> Haydon had social aspirations and in his gentlemanly pursuits, whether the arts, Volunteers, fishing or Freemasonry, he mixed with people eminent in those areas. His domestic life was apparently happy and he was able to pass on to his children some of the benefits of his achievements and experiences.

As retirement approached after thirty-five years as Steward of Bethlem, Melbourne was brought back into Haydon's life as his curiosity over one old inmate was satisfied.

### **Edward Oxford again**

Although it was Edward Oxford who left England in 1867 it was to be both literally and figuratively John Freeman who arrived in Melbourne, as Oxford adopted an appropriate pseudonym for his new life. Oxford and Haydon were once more on opposite sides of the world and, although it could hardly be said that their fortunes had been reversed, it was now Oxford who gazed on Melbourne and wondered at the possibilities of a fresh start whilst it was Haydon who was confined to Bethlem.

Australia was in fact no stranger to those who had made attempts on the life of the monarch. John Francis fired a bullet or pebble at the Queen in 1842 and was transported for life; William Hamilton, an Irishman, was transported for seven years after his attempt in 1849; and the following year the same sentence was given to

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<sup>1</sup> Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain*, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 104-11.

Lieutenant Robert Pate after he hit the Queen on the head with a walking stick.<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to note that when Irish born Henry O'Farrell shot and wounded Prince Alfred during a royal tour of Australia in 1886 the excuse of insanity did not wash. O'Farrell was found guilty of treason and hanged at Darlinghurst Gaol.

Oxford had promised to let Haydon know how he fared in his new life but he failed to do so. Although Oxford remained silent, Haydon was in touch with other old friends and acquaintances in Melbourne. In June 1880 he received a letter from Charles Ker containing a cutting from the *Melbourne Age* which described how a man named John Oxford had been arrested for stealing a shirt.<sup>4</sup> It stated:

The bench was informed...that between thirty and forty years ago the defendant gained notoriety by shooting at the Queen when on her way to Hyde Park. He was the first man who had attempted to take the life of her Majesty, and it was the opinion of the medical men of the time that he was insane, his life was spared, and he was sent to Colney Hatch. He spent a number of years in that asylum and was then liberated, after which he came to Australia. In Sandridge he was convicted of stealing a shirt, and was sent to gaol for one week. On Saturday he was liberated, and Mr Castieau, the governor of the gaol, informed the police that in consequence of the old man's eccentric conduct in gaol, he believed he was mad, and ought to be watched.<sup>5</sup>

This John Oxford was then arrested on the grounds of vagrancy and remanded for medical examination. However, the discrepancy in name and the reference to Colney Hatch, an asylum in North London where Edward Oxford had never been, throw into doubt the identity of this man. The report had caught Ker's attention because Haydon had pointed Oxford out during a visit Ker had made to Bethlem years previously. If Haydon took this to be his old charge, he must have been deeply disappointed that Oxford had resorted to petty crime and was exhibiting signs of mental instability.

A further nine years passed before anything more was heard, and then in February 1889 a letter reached Haydon at his desk at Bethlem. It read:

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<sup>3</sup> F. B. Smith, 'Lights and Shadows in the Life of John Freeman', p. 467. See Smith for an analysis of Oxford's crime and subsequent writing career.

<sup>4</sup> Charles Ker, letter to George Henry Haydon, 4 May 1880, HC. This is possibly a brother of William Ker with whom Haydon had spent time in Port Phillip in the 1840s.

<sup>5</sup> *Melbourne Age*, 4 May 1880.

My Dear Sir,

After my twenty one years' silence, I dare say you will be surprised to hear that I'm still in the flesh; but, I assure you I am not only so, but there is a fair share of vitality left in me yet.

Although I have not written I have never forgotten your friendship to me at the time when I so much needed a friend. You can easily understand my motive for silence, so I need say nothing further on that point.

It will, also, doubtless, be another surprise, to hear that I've turned author; but it is so; and the book that accompanies this letter will give you an insight into my style; and show you how wonderfully Melbourne has improved since you were here.

You are the only man in the world, besides myself, who could connect me with the book; but, I have that faith in your honour and discretion, that I feel sure we shall remain the sole depositories of the secret. Even my wife, the sharer of my joys, and sorrows, is no wiser than the rest of the world.

I have several other works in hand, which I shall try to get published in London and I shall find a much better market there than elsewhere.

Now I have re-opened communications I should like to correspond with you regularly; as there is much I should like to relate, and hear; so you must write occasionally, and let me know how you and your family have been getting on since I saw you last.

I dare say you would like to know how I've been getting on myself: and so you shall in good time: but I may mention that I hold now, and have done for years several positions of honour, but, unfortunately there is no profit attached to them.

I feel rather moved at remembering our old acquaintance, as you may easily imagine; for I have long since blotted out the part from my mind, and to recall it now, is like opening an old wound: So, you must excuse the brevity of this epistle, and look for longer ones in the near future.

Believe me, my Dear Sir, to be

yours faithfully

John Freeman<sup>6</sup>

Oxford was alive and well and living at Albert Park, South Melbourne. Even better, his desire for celebrity had taken a more productive form and he was now a published author. Accompanying the letter was a copy of Oxford's book *Lights and Shadows of Melbourne Life* which had been published in London in 1888.<sup>7</sup>

Having looked up Haydon in the *London Post Office Directory*, Oxford was confident that his old benefactor was alive and still at Bethlem. He continued to write

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<sup>6</sup> John Freeman, letter to George Henry Haydon, 8 February 1880, Oxford MS 243, NLA.

<sup>7</sup> John Freeman [Edward Oxford], *Lights and Shadows of Melbourne Life* (London, 1888). The copy held at the NLA is inscribed with a dedication to Haydon.

but, whilst still displaying a strong sense of his own importance, Oxford's letters were all frustratingly silent on what had occupied him during the intervening years. However, he assured Haydon that he was a 'respectable and respected'<sup>8</sup> member of society and had gone to considerable lengths to hide his true identity even, as he claimed, from his wife.

A search for the record of Oxford's marriage at the Registry of Births Deaths and Marriages for the State of Victoria proved that John Freeman was a common name in nineteenth-century Melbourne. Nevertheless, a certificate dated 16 March 1881 shows that Oxford had married Jane Bowen, dressmaker and widow with two children. Oxford had obviously lied about his name, and the fact that Jane was more than twenty years Oxford's junior probably prompted him to put his age down as fifty-three when he must have been sixty-one.<sup>9</sup> But the fact that he correctly gave his mother's name as Hannah, his father's occupation as jeweller, and his place of birth as Birmingham makes him identifiable with some certainty. It would seem, therefore, that the John Oxford who had been arrested for the theft of a shirt must have been a case of mistaken identity. Yet Oxford cannot have been living totally incognito as his letter to Haydon of 15 February 1889 refers to having met Robert Ker (possibly a brother of Charles who sent the newspaper cutting), and having chatted about Haydon.

Receiving Oxford's letter must have brought back so many memories for Haydon, not just of early days at Bethlem but also of Melbourne. Whilst Oxford was reluctant to fill in the details of his own life he did give news of a city Haydon would barely have recognised. In 1840 Melbourne had a population of around 4000, and few substantial buildings; by 1889 the population was in excess of 300,000, and Melbourne was one of the richest cities in the British Empire. Oxford wrote of the land boom (and anticipated bust), of the death of Peter Lalor of Eureka Stockade fame, and, recalling Haydon's Bethlem lecture, reported that French Island was now a 'public resort'.<sup>10</sup> As Haydon poured over the views of Melbourne that Oxford sent he must have marvelled at the changes since his time. He must also have been amused when one letter ended 'This is the Queen's birthday, and after having posted this, I shall pay my respects to her Majesty, by attending the Governor's levee.'<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> John Freeman, letter to George Henry Haydon, 15 February 1889, Oxford MS 243, NLA.

<sup>9</sup> Department for Victorian Communities Registry of Births Deaths and Marriages, Marriage Certificate no. 2684, John Freeman to Jane Bowen, 16 March 1881.

<sup>10</sup> John Freeman, letter to George Henry Haydon, 15 February 1889, Oxford MS 243, NLA.

<sup>11</sup> John Freeman, letter to George Henry Haydon, 22 May 1889, Oxford MS 243, NLA.

Oxford's marriage certificate gives his occupation as painter and suggests the means by which he had made a living in Australia. House painting was something Oxford had learnt at Bethlem and was a useful skill in the rapidly expanding Melbourne. By 1889, however, Oxford would have been approaching seventy and looking for a less physical means of making a living. Apart from his book, he had several articles published in the Melbourne press and he now sought Haydon's help to see if a publisher for further works could be found in London, or whether he could act as a regular correspondent from Australia for one of the London newspapers. Oxford sent some manuscripts and left it to Haydon's discretion as to what name they should be published under on the understanding that they could not be traced to John Freeman of Melbourne. He claimed not to want to exploit his notoriety.

Just as Haydon had tried to capitalise on the genres of his day, Oxford was also writing into a popular convention in the form of 'slummer journalism'.<sup>12</sup> *Lights and Shadows of Melbourne Life* is a series of sketches of urban life. 'Leather-lunged' costermongers, 'chummy' chimney sweeps, and street beggars are amongst the characters presented along with descriptions of Melbourne's markets, theatres and public spaces. Oxford wrote of Melbourne:

As the visitor passes through its broad streets, he will marvel at its stately buildings and manifold signs of prosperity. He will notice the well-to-do look of the people he meets; he will admire the grace and demeanour of the women, and the manly, independent bearing of the men.

Let him now turn down one of the arteries leading from the broad streets to the little ones at the back, and see that although we have much to rejoice in, we have also something to deplore. He will find that Melbourne has its shadows as well as its bright spots, its hovels as well as palaces, low life as well as high, and abject poverty side by side with boundless wealth.<sup>13</sup>

Oxford was following a tradition started by the likes of Charles Dickens, Henry Mayhew and Dickens's protégé Sala. Sala's collections of London scenes such as *Gaslight and Daylight and the London Scenes they Shine Upon* (1859) had been very popular in their day. This type of fly-on-the-wall reportage of outcasts and metropolitan lowlife was adopted in Australia by Marcus Clarke, B. L. Farjeon and, most famously, John Stanley James, better known as 'The Vagabond'. As writers in metropolitan Melbourne sought a way to describe their city they adopted a style inherited from the

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<sup>12</sup> Graeme Davison and David Dunstan, 'The Moral Pandemonium', in Graeme Davison, David Dunstan and Chris McConville (eds), *The Outcasts of Melbourne* (Sydney, 1985), pp. 29-57.

<sup>13</sup> Freeman, *Lights and Shadows of Melbourne Life*, p. viii.



greatest metropolis in the world – London. Descriptions of Melbourne were circumscribed by descriptions of London from a generation earlier and,<sup>14</sup> as the *Australasian* noted at the time, Freeman’s descriptions might equally well have been written in London.<sup>15</sup> It is fitting that, in so far as the lives of Haydon and Oxford can be considered the inverse of each other, one man chose to focus so specifically on the rural environment, the other on the metropolitan.

Oxford could have done worse than ask Haydon for help with his literary career. As has been discussed in Chapter 8, Haydon had contacts in the London literary world. Unfortunately Oxford’s timing was bad as Haydon was preparing to retire from Bethlem and was busy clearing his desk after thirty-six years as Steward. Haydon did show Oxford’s manuscripts to his particular friend, Roger Acton, editor of the *Illustrated London News*, and he passed on Acton’s constructive criticism, but Oxford’s work was not published in London and the manuscripts have not survived. Oxford only hinted at their contents:

You may remember that, for some years, business of a peculiar nature brought me into contact with many doubtful characters, when I had ample opportunity of getting an insight into many of their ‘devious’ ways, and hearing many strange recitals...<sup>16</sup>

Just as suddenly as Oxford’s letters had begun to arrive they appear to have stopped within only a year.<sup>17</sup> In what was to be the last letter Oxford urged Haydon to take a ‘trip’ to Australia. He wrote:

It will do you good. There is plenty of fishing and shooting; only you’ll have to go further afield for it than the Eastern Hill if you aspire to Kangaroos. Dandenongs, Westernport and all other parts of the old places you once knew, are now connected with Melbourne by railways, and you can see more in one day now than you could in a week when you were here before.<sup>18</sup>

Oxford’s book has faded into obscurity but is occasionally used by those seeking information on early Melbourne.<sup>19</sup> It is unlikely that the link between this little-known

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<sup>14</sup> Davison and Dunstan, ‘The Moral Pandemonium’, pp. 30 & 43.

<sup>15</sup> *Australasian*, 7 July 1888, p. 11, quoted in Davison and Dunstan, p. 43.

<sup>16</sup> John Freeman, letter to George Henry Haydon, received 7 November 1889, Oxford MS 243, NLA.

<sup>17</sup> Department for Victorian Communities Registry of Births Deaths and Marriages, Death Certificate no. 10940, 1900. Oxford died from apoplexy paralysis on 25 April 1900.

<sup>18</sup> John Freeman, letter to George Henry Haydon, received 7 November 1889, Oxford MS 243, NLA.

<sup>19</sup> See for example John Freeman, ‘Winkling Out a Living’, in Tim Flannery (ed.), *The Birth of Melbourne* (Melbourne, 2002), pp. 343-7.

writer on Melbourne life and the boy who became infamous for his attempt on the life of Queen Victoria would ever have been made. However, in 1953 the Haydon family forwarded Oxford's letters and book to the Commonwealth National Library, now the National Library of Australia, where they remain in the archives.

### **Masculine pursuits**

Hoppen, in his analysis of Victorian society, notes that a feature of the middle-class gentleman was the ability to combine a commitment to the virtues of domestic life with the reality of being frequently absent from it.<sup>20</sup> Haydon is a typical example of this as he found time for his many friends and interests outside the home. His association with artistic and literary circles has already been examined. Collecting antiquarian books was another hobby and in 1877 he recorded having dined with Hugh Welch Diamond. Diamond was a photographer and asylum superintendent active in London antiquarian circles and renowned for his weekly gathering of literary, antiquarian, and artistic friends at his house in Twickenham. Also present on that occasion was Mr Owen who, Haydon noted, was 'principal Financier of the Great Western Railway'. Mr White, Secretary of the Royal Society and author of works on travel, was another guest.<sup>21</sup>

Haydon's involvement with the Volunteer Movement, which had started in Devon, continued throughout his time in London. He was initially a member of the 7<sup>th</sup> Surrey Corps, and then later the Queen's Westminster Volunteers. After the formation of the first volunteer regiment, the Exeter and South Devon rifles, in 1852, others corps had quickly followed, but it was not until the late 1850s that membership became popular. Interest had been stimulated by the deep-rooted fear of invasion, especially in 1857 when British resources were tied up in quelling the Indian Mutiny, and then from the increasing strength of the French naval fleet. Motivated by a mixture of patriotism and desire for social advancement, the membership of the Volunteer Force consisted substantially of middle-class professionals who were able to become officers in a way not open to them in the regular army. The necessity of purchasing one's own uniform (which could cost several guineas) and being able to pledge a certain amount of spare

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<sup>20</sup> Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation*, p. 316.

<sup>21</sup> George Haydon, *Letts Diary for 1874*, HC.

time also limited the appeal but made membership more socially exclusive and therefore desirable.<sup>22</sup>



Figure 10.2 Photograph, Haydon in uniform of the 7<sup>th</sup> Surrey Volunteer Rifles, 1858, HC.<sup>23</sup>

Of all his interests and hobbies it was fly-fishing that was Haydon's greatest love and he fished all over the South and West of England gaining a reputation amongst the angling fraternity. He had a particular interest in pisciculture and in 1867 he was elected to the Piscatorial Society which met at the Star and Garter Club in Pall Mall.

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<sup>22</sup> Hugh Cunningham, *The Volunteer Force: A Social and Political History 1859-1908* (London, 1975), pp. 6-12.

<sup>23</sup> There is no record of what rank Haydon held. A later photograph shows Haydon was still a Volunteer (Queen's Westminsters) in 1873; there is no record of when he retired.



Figure10.3 Photograph, Haydon fly-fishing c.1890, HC.

As his salary increased at Bethlem, Haydon had felt able to indulge his passion by taking a lease from the Earl of Portsmouth of a cottage: The Island, on the banks of the River Test at Hurstbourne Priors, near Whitchurch in Hampshire. Thanks to the expanding railway system, (the Whitchurch line had only opened in 1854) this was near enough to London to be a frequent retreat where he could go alone or with friends and family. Known locally as the ‘Old Doctor’, Haydon became a familiar figure around Hurstbourne. Days spent fishing, yarning with a companion, smoking his pipe, tying flies, and catching his own dinner (or sending the excess to friends in London) were

probably the closest Haydon came to recapturing the feel of his Australian days. Perhaps, too, the cottage at Hurstbourne was a realisation of his Arcadian dream.



Figure10.4 Photograph, The Island, Hurstbourne Priors, HC.

Haydon wrote to a friend in Melbourne asking to know the state of trout and salmon stocks there. Trout, replied Thomas Bury, were in abundance due to the imported ova from which spawners were thriving in the many streams feeding the Gippsland Lakes. The Yarra in Melbourne was, however, too polluted for fish.<sup>24</sup>

Fishing seems to be the activity that, above all others, neatly epitomises many things about Haydon. Fly-fishing, in contrast to course fishing, was a gentlemanly activity involving access to choice stretches of river. Tying flies was a creative, even artistic, activity. Luring, hooking and landing the fish involved a manly battle to

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<sup>24</sup> Thomas Bury, letter to George Henry Haydon, 23 January 1874, HC.

overcome nature, and when the fish were not biting there was always the nature on the riverbank to be enjoyed. Fishing could be a solitary or sociable activity, and was an opportunity for male companionship. In addition to all these factors, catching one's own supper was an act of self-sufficiency that would have appealed to Haydon. The photograph at figure 10.3 shows that in later life, and in accordance with fashion, Haydon returned to the full beard of his bushman days.

Despite his admiration of the meritocracy of Australian bush society, Haydon was still a man concerned with class and status. He ingratiated himself with his landlords, Lord and Lady Portsmouth, sending them books and sketches and seeking permission to spawn trout in Portsmouth's river. He turned down an invitation to fish at their Devon house, 'Eggesford' citing pressure of work, but Haydon was not averse to a bit of social sycophancy:

How I wish I could come down and work for your son's election for Barnstaple but alas there is no such good fortune for me. I have neither vote nor interest in North Devon now. I can but offer my best wishes and stammer out my thanks through the memory of my little book to your Ladyship and Lord Portsmouth for many long years of kindness.<sup>25</sup>

When the weather was not right for fishing Haydon would potter in the garden, write affectionate notes to Clarissa, or read something like Darwin's *Journal of Researches into the Geology and Natural History of the various countries visited by HMS 'Beagle'* (1831-6), commenting that it was: 'full of interest, it is a combination of science and adventure.'<sup>26</sup> That Haydon in 1888 records reading Darwin's 1830s account of his voyage on the *Beagle* seems yet further evidence of Haydon's continued engagement with the Australia of the era he knew. He was, however, perfectly happy to engage with the present-day Darwin and Haydon wrote to him (in response to a letter by Darwin published in the *Evening Standard*) enclosing a few tiny mosquitoes from Canada: 'Let the minuteness of my offering plead for me in taking up a minute of your valuable time.'<sup>27</sup>

Many of Haydon's activities and hobbies also served as a 'badge of social position'. Interest in cultural pursuits with Enlightenment goals be they in the arts of the

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<sup>25</sup> George Henry Haydon, letter to Lady Portsmouth, 19 March 1880, HC. It is not clear if, or why, Haydon would ever have had a vote in North Devon, although his in-laws might.

<sup>26</sup> George Henry Haydon, letter to Clarissa Haydon, 1888, HC.

<sup>27</sup> George Henry Haydon, letter to Charles Darwin, 12 September 1881, Charles Darwin Papers, CUL.

progression of sciences serves to divide those who saw themselves as agents of civilization from the ignorant masses.<sup>28</sup>

Despite the often genteel nature of Haydon's masculine pursuits in England they did provide a degree of continuity with his experiences in Australia. Clearly, too, Haydon enjoyed the company of other men. It has been suggested that his relationship with Jack Sanger on French Island was one of mateship whilst with William Ker and George Cruikshank it was friendship; with Samuel Phelps it was a variation of the father/son relationship. There was also sympathy with the patients, comradeship with the Volunteer Force, companionship with his fellow anglers, and fraternity with the Freemasons. Haydon was able to enjoy brotherhood in its many forms although not particularly, it would seem, with his own blood-brothers.<sup>29</sup>

### **Full circle**

Just as Haydon had grown up hearing of his father's naval adventures, there is no doubt that his own children were the recipients of his Australian stories and one wonders how much Haydon encouraged them to migrate. The family was a close one and Haydon had hoped one of the boys would follow him to the post of Steward at Bethlem. Indeed, Frank did act as locum for him on occasions, but if Bethlem had an influence on the boys it was in another direction: both Walton and Frank became doctors, though not psychiatric ones. (Edith married a doctor, and George and Rhys went into the financial world of the City). Walton was the only one to inherit his father's wanderlust but Canada was his preferred destination. Joining the Hudson's Bay Company (another agent of Empire) in 1878, Walton was sent to Moose Factory, Onatrio, a small fur trade station on the shore of Hudson's Bay. This was an even more remote destination than the Port Phillip of 1840 with only two ships calling in each year. Despite his son's being so far away, Haydon must have felt a vicarious pleasure from Walton's experiences. Like his father, Walton was to have contact with the indigenous population as he visited the Indian reserves at the Saskatchewan River giving medical assistance. Also like his father, Walton was interested in indigenous culture, and he made a study of the medicinal plants used by the Cree Indians.<sup>30</sup> He also collected butterflies to send to Mr

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<sup>28</sup> Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia*, p. 9. Although making this point in respect of Australia, Gascoigne recognises it was equally applicable to British society.

<sup>29</sup> Haydon's brother Samuel died in London on 7 September 1891. Haydon kept a number of Samuel's sketches but there is no surviving correspondence between the two men.

<sup>30</sup> E. M. Holmes, 'Medicinal Plants used by the Cree Indians, Hudson's Bay Territory', *American Journal of Pharmacy* 56 (1884) n.p. This article was written from information provided by Walton Haydon.



Darwin (and was no doubt the source of the mosquitoes). Unlike his father, Walton never returned to England but eventually settled in Oregon, USA (though interestingly not until after his father's death).

When Walton's own death was recorded in the local press in 1932 he was described as having been 'a member of an old family still prominent in affairs of empire.'<sup>31</sup> This was, of course, a gross exaggeration, but it does indicate that something of Haydon's reputation had been exported and enlarged through Walton and another migration. Walton, too, was to have his life defined in the context of service to empire and community. Perhaps Haydon was thinking about the future of his younger sons when he underlined the following in an 1882 article in *The Times*:

Go to the colonies, or do anything, rather than enter the Civil Service. You will be better paid; and you will be happier, for there will at least be hope, which there is not here.<sup>32</sup>

'Hope' and 'the colonies' were words that Haydon still placed side by side. However, the other three boys took an opposite course and were rarely even to venture outside London.

Walton's permanent residence in North America seems the natural extension of a process started by Samuel Haydon's globe-trotting whilst in the navy, and then followed by George Henry Haydon's five year sojourn in Port Phillip and Edward Haydon's migration to South Australia. This sense of empire as a natural sphere of operation seems to have been passed down through the generations.

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<sup>31</sup> 'Noted Coos Bay Physician and Man of Science Dead', *Portland and Oregonian*, 18 December 1932.

<sup>32</sup> 'The Value of Land in Australia', *The Times*, 8 April 1882.

## Retirement and death

Haydon retired from Bethlem in 1889 after a long stewardship.<sup>33</sup> 'Hospital prosperous and at peace after over 36 years service'<sup>34</sup> he wrote echoing his father's state of the Empire record left on Table Mountain which had recorded: 'England is now at peace with the whole world'. (see Prologue) The *Illustrated London News* noted Haydon's retirement, describing him as 'one of the early colonists of Melbourne from 1840-1845 [who] performed a share of the work of Australian exploration'.<sup>35</sup> A life of service was how Haydon saw his career. With his pension of £550 per annum Haydon moved to a substantial brick villa in Putney which he named 'Ettrick' after the little cutter that had ploughed the route between Melbourne and Port Albert during his Gippsland days, and for which he had anxiously looked out on French Island when food was running short. Even this small act of naming his house is revealing of the migrant experience: Haydon is transporting back something of Australia and, notwithstanding the fact that it was a name that in the first place had been exported as a reference to somewhere in Britain, it held an Anglo-Australian meaning for Haydon.<sup>36</sup> Perhaps he thought a name like 'Lang Lang Berin', his choice in *The Australian Emigrant*, too exotic for suburban Putney. (Robinson had been braver naming his residence in Bath 'Pahran' after a place in Melbourne.<sup>37</sup>)

Haydon wished he had retired earlier, as most of his old friends and colleagues had already departed from Bethlem and the bureaucracy was becoming evermore complicated. Having left he never went back. He wrote to a friend:

What a hodge podge the lawyers make when they deal with lunacy. Red Tape has been magnified sevenfold as it seems to me - but thank goodness I am free of it at last. When I descry the Old Dome in the distance I lift my hat, I bless it inwards - but I never go under it.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Brain Matthews, 'Henry Lawson', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 10 (Melbourne, 1986), pp. 18-22. Had Haydon stayed another ten years at Bethlem he would have met Australia's greatest storyteller Henry Lawson whose wife, Bertha, became an inmate during a visit to England in 1901.

<sup>34</sup> Noted in 'The History of Bethlem Royal Hospital', a volume of bound notes made by Haydon, HC.

<sup>35</sup> 'Bethlem and Bridewell Hospitals', *Illustrated London News*, 27 July 1889, p. 128.

<sup>36</sup> Ettrick is a stream in Scotland.

<sup>37</sup> R. and B. Appleton, *The Cambridge Dictionary of Australian Place Names*, p. 249. 'Pahran' is derived from 'purran' a Woiwuring Aboriginal word of uncertain meaning.

<sup>38</sup> George Henry Haydon, letter to Helps, 5 November 1890, HC. Helps was possibly the son of William Helps who had been a doctor at Bethlem; Andrews *et al.*, *The History of Bethlem*, p. 516. Haydon is probably referring to the 1890 Lunacy Act (a consolidation of the Lunacy Laws Amendment Act of 1889) which had, with its 342 clauses, greatly increased the bureaucracy involved in detaining and caring for patients; The dome (see figure 7.1) to which Haydon refers was added to Bethlem in the 1860s and is now the library of the Imperial War Museum.

Retirement allowed Haydon to indulge his love of angling and he spent much time down at Hurstbourne recording in his fishing book details of who caught what and other jottings:

My eyes are dimmed by fifty years  
O'blinking on the shimmering streams  
They overflow wi' blinding tears  
As I call up my boyhood dreams<sup>39</sup>

One wonders how many of those boyhood dreams were connected with his time in Australia? Haydon referred to the summer of 1891 as 'The Ranger's Great Season'; it was also to be the last. After only two years of retirement, Haydon had a stroke in November 1891 and died soon after surrounded by his wife and children. Clarissa recorded his last words:

God has been very good to us Mama. You have been a dear good wife to me  
Edith remember we have had a good mother. She has been a good mother to  
us all.<sup>40</sup>

Haydon left his entire estate worth a little over £4,000 to his wife.<sup>41</sup> He never quite made the £5,000 fortune he had hoped for in Australia. His obituary in *The Times* recorded him as 'one of the earliest explorers of Australia' who 'made the first crossing from Melbourne to Gippland'.<sup>42</sup>

An assessment of the marriage of others is by its nature a difficult and presumptuous task but there are clues that indicate Haydon's marriage of forty years had been a good one. A fond dedication in a book, and his always loving letters suggest affection had endured. Not long before his death, whilst yet again away on a fishing trip, Haydon had written: 'God bless you my darling wife. I am a deserter but you are always uppermost in my thoughts.'<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> George Henry Haydon, fishing memo book, HC, p. 56.

<sup>40</sup> Clarissa Haydon, note made on death of George Haydon, HC.

<sup>41</sup> George Henry Haydon, Will dated 17 January 1889, Probate Registry.

<sup>42</sup> Obituary of George Henry Haydon, *The Times*, 11 November 1891.

<sup>43</sup> George Henry Haydon, letter to Clarissa Haydon, 6 August 1891, HC.



Figure10.5 Photograph, Clarissa Haydon, c. 1868, HC

‘Ettrick’ was too large a house for the widowed Clarissa and she soon moved out, but continued to live in Putney until her own death in 1917. Bethlem colleagues got up a collection for a substantial monument which still stands over Haydon’s grave at Brookwood Cemetery in Surrey. It is inscribed: ‘To live in the hearts we leave behind is not to die.’

### **‘After the End’**

By the time of Haydon’s death in 1891 *Five Years’ Experience in Australia Felix* and *The Australian Emigrant* were obscure books relating to a bygone era. Many of the same ingredients from these books would now be reworked by a new generation of writers, including Banjo Paterson, Henry Lawson, Joseph Furphy, Henry Handel Richardson, and Miles Franklin. But these were works being produced by Australian writers for an Australian audience and were concerned with Australian nationalism and self-determination. It was a literary shift ‘from addressing and describing a British

outpost to Britain toward addressing and invoking a national identity to itself.’<sup>44</sup> The spirit of Haydon’s Australia had well and truly passed.

Gascoigne attributes the recent trends in Australian historiography which see a swing once more away from the purely Australian and back toward a reintegration with British and European influences as partly due to the interest in the Australian bicentenary in 1988.<sup>45</sup> The republication of Haydon’s *Australia Felix* in that year is testament to this. Further momentum has been given by the 2001 centenary of Federation. Anecdotal evidence collected in various historical societies in Australia during the course of this study suggested that a renewed interest in fixing Anglo-Australian history has come about partly as a result of, and a reaction to, the large numbers of immigrants now arriving in Australia from non-European destinations following the dismantling of the White Australia policy in the 1970s. To this can be added the recent revisions in the history of European contact with the Aborigines, and an appetite for admission of wrong doings and a movement toward reconciliation. All this has seen modern historians look again at people like Haydon, and his work has re-emerged in recent years for what it can say about native police (Marie Hansen Fels); the language of exploration (Paul Carter); inter-tribal combat (A. G. L. Shaw, Mark McKenna); the Chief Protector (Vivienne Rae-Ellis); or the history of French Island (Ruth Gooch). As has been shown, Haydon’s artwork has also featured in recent exhibitions on early Port Phillip. The latest example of the use of Haydon’s *Melbourne in 1840* can be found in Eric Richards’s work on emigration *Britannia’s Children* (2004).<sup>46</sup> It is fair to say, therefore, that over one hundred and fifty years after his death Haydon’s work once again plays a part in the portrayal of Australia.

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<sup>44</sup> Bennett and Strauss, *The Oxford Literary History of Australia*, p. 95.

<sup>45</sup> Gascoigne, *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia*, p. 15.

<sup>46</sup> Richards, *Britannia’s Children*, figure 5 between pp. 142 & 143.

## Conclusion



Silhouette of George Henry Haydon made in Exeter in 1840, HC.

This study commenced with a consideration of the economic, physical and psychological process of emigration. Haydon's decision to go to Australia resulted from both family circumstances and external influences, particularly financial and geographic. His shipboard journal provided insight into the experience of migration. The process involved great disruption not only to the physical environment but to the ideas of class, gender and order which underpinned the emigrant's very identity. The anxiety of travelling toward the unknown manifested itself in a distinctive, though surprisingly typical, narrative which demonstrated how much the distress was sublimated yet could still be detected in the daily record of shipboard life. A close reading revealed the various strategies for managing the experience which included concentrating on the mundane, the reliance on established travelogue conventions and the use of humour. The very act of keeping a journal was a way of 'containing' the experience, whilst the voyage itself may have influenced the attitudes and habits of new arrivals to the colonies.

Haydon's Australian career was pieced together from a trail of evidence, sometimes clear, sometimes hazy. His journals (and his appearance in the journals of others), newspapers, doctor's bills, and sketches all fulfil the multiple purposes of telling something about Haydon, something about Melbourne, and something about the way in which early colonists went about the business of colonization.

Haydon's time in Melbourne was not marked by high achievement, nor has this study suggested that there was anything particularly unique in his experience. In fact, it was the typicality of Haydon's experience of his surroundings that was more revealing of contemporary social and intellectual currents. Through his ability to sketch, Haydon left a collection of images which are a record of early Melbourne and its inhabitants; *Melbourne in 1840*, in its variety of forms, is the most prominent. Over and above the documentary function, Haydon's Australian artwork suggested ways in which perceptions of the colonist's environment were constructed and for what purpose. They also suggested the role of art in making life tolerable in the colonial environment. The colonial genres, be they townscape or coastal profile, bushman portraits or representations of the Aborigines, all told something about Old World conventions, imperial progress and anxiety.

Associated with the ideals of imperial progress were reason, improvement and individualism. Haydon's Australian artwork showed how he was influenced by European Enlightenment thought whether in the colonial progress hinted at in



*Melbourne in 1840*, the scientific enquiry of the topographical pictures, or the portraits of the Bushmen. These all supported imperial expansion and the goals of progress of people, place and knowledge. Even with his more ambivalent approach to the Aboriginal population Haydon did, initially at least, privilege education over religion as a way of improvement. His recognition of human rights (which was not the same as social equality) was also part of an enlightened philosophy. Later, back in England, other manifestations of enlightenment influences were seen in his commitment to the emigration cause, asylum and penal reform, scientific enquiry, and even Freemasonry.

As Haydon found it increasingly difficult to thrive commercially in Melbourne as artist or architect, and probably with a youthful desire for adventure, he left the town in search of opportunities on the land. In so doing he gave a vivid insight into Melbourne in the grips of depression. French Island was a somewhat bizarre episode which gave Haydon a taste of (and for) an Australian landscape that was both inhospitable and wondrous. It was an episode that became deeply etched in Haydon's memory and laid the foundations of a bush ethos that never quite left him.

The journey to Gippsland set up Haydon in another colonial context - that of quasi-explorer. He played a small part in the enterprise of opening up the Gippsland area from the western or Melbourne side. This episode also brought him into contact with the Chief Protector of Aborigines, the only man to bring out any vitriol in Haydon. The Gippsland journey was recorded by Haydon in a journal which was later reworked into a more formal version; this was mirrored by Robinson's two versions. The wealth of different voices that can be heard through the various accounts allowed for the decoding of these explorers' journals as textual artefacts to show, not least, the ways in which both text and events were manipulated for the writers' own ends. The exploration party was far from a united group, and among the personal squabbles and egotistic motives it was possible to detect the Aboriginal presence as a much more influential force than is traditionally acknowledged.

Return, the motivation for and physical act of, was explored through Haydon. The surviving records provided a rare opportunity to trace the process through its contemplation, execution and beyond. Something was revealed about an overlooked historical figure – the colonial returnee. The existence of the return journal allowed for some direct comparisons to be made with the outward-bound one. It showed Haydon not just as a matured individual divested of his snobbery but one who had become split by a dual frame of reference. It showed how alienated Haydon felt when for the first

time he found himself outside the wider British world. It suggested ways in which Haydon had become a product of his Australian experience, and this laid the foundation of his Anglo-Australianess. This also raised speculation as to how much these formative years spent in a society which lacked rigid class distinctions and established institutions liberalized Haydon.

That Haydon recast his migration and return as a voyage around the world was symbolic of his commitment to the imperial project. Such commitment also found expression in both the non-fictional and fictional accounts of empire as a space for adventure and progress. However, Haydon also recognised, and often humorously drew attention to, the disparity between the romance and reality of the Empire; it was a tension he never fully resolved.

Permanent return was initially hidden under the guise of a 'visit'. What did a returned colonist with no fortune or independent means do upon his return? The only thing Haydon had to offer was his colonial experience and it was around this that he constructed a role for himself as an agent, or promoter, of emigration; living in Devon he was well placed to do so. In so doing, he produced what was to be his main legacy to the records of Port Phillip in the form of *Five Years' Experience in Australia Felix*. This text was analysed for what it says about a nascent Port Phillip District as well as how and why that place was presented back in England. It is true that (with the exception of the account of the journey to Gippsland) there is little that is original in the text. Nevertheless, it showed how in conforming to the genre of the emigrant guidebook Haydon delicately balanced generic conventions with his own bias and the needs of his audience. This combination was perhaps best exemplified through the book's varied approach toward the Aboriginal population.

Haydon's interest in and regard for the Port Phillip Aborigines was a feature of the study. His initial optimism for the proposed development of the Aborigines from nomadic to settled, heathen to Christian as being one of progress in civilization, appeared to have later given way to a more pessimistic view as Haydon increasingly saw the Aborigine as an anthropological curiosity. This interpretation was supported by Haydon's treatment of the Aborigines in both his books and later writings. Ultimately he believed that for the 'children of the wilderness' there would be very little future once their wilderness had been tamed. This, perhaps combined with a sense of guilt, helped explain his distance from Aboriginal matters in later life. Working at Bethlem might also have undermined a belief in the progress of mankind.

Haydon's emigration lectures rehearsed the social and economic necessities for migration as a solution to social ills. They placed Haydon in the context of other promoters of migration, but Haydon was also stimulated in what he said by his belief in emigration as a patriotic, imperial cause – the colonies needed to be populated but populated by the right type. Moreover, British stock could be improved by being brought against a frontier environment, and Haydon saw himself as a proof of this.

Haydon publicly promoted emigrations through his books and lectures, and at a more private level he clearly also influenced friends and relatives. But Haydon did more than just advance a cause. This promotion of place allowed Haydon to prolong his direct contact with Australia, and as it became more apparent that he would not be going back himself he was able to do so vicariously through those that he sent and through his writing.

The appointment to Devon County Lunatic Asylum marked the end of Haydon's colonial aspirations and the start of his real career which, on the face of it, seemed a far cry from the business of emigration. Yet even here it was possible to see both asylum reform and emigration in the context of increasing humanitarian concerns, social reform, and state intervention in such matters. It was also during this time in Exeter that Haydon became involved with the establishment of England's oldest Volunteer Rifle Corps.

*The Australian Emigrant* was a semi-autobiographical novel and as such a recasting of Haydon's own experiences into adventure. With its conventions of melodrama, its set pieces and stock characters, this book was typical, indeed at the Australian forefront, of its genre and illuminated something of the artistic function of such works. The book advocated emigration, and in setting up the various colonial types Haydon said something of each, and about their contribution to the health of the colony. Of the unworthy colonial elite he was disparaging and dismissive; convicts could be good or bad but had to be got rid of; Aborigines had no satisfactory role to play and they simply vanished from the book as it was anticipated they would from the land. It was the enthusiastic, young and wholesome emigrants, Raymond and Slinger, who were left to thrive and prosper in rural bliss whilst at the same time not forgetting the 'proper' social order of middle-class over working-class and the English over the Irish. All this was the coded message of an imperial design that was hidden within such adventure stories. *The Australian Emigrant* and its like dealt with many of the themes that would provide the ingredients for a national image.

Like *Australia Felix*, *The Australian Emigrant* was concerned with the promotion of Port Phillip but it was in his fiction that Haydon went furthest in portraying Australia as Arcady. In this he was not alone and his work was seen as complementing other contemporary texts which combined to fabricate an image of Australia that became dominant not only in Britain but in Australia itself. Both books depicted a pre-goldrush era of pastoralism that for Haydon, and others, was a golden one whose passing gave rise to a sense of nostalgia. Part of his dislike for the era of the goldrushes came from his longing for that earlier innocent period. No doubt, too, an element of resentment came from the way gold overshadowed his period, his knowledge and, therefore, his importance. For him, gold undermined the development of a colony which had been based on the improvement of the land and stock, on agriculture, and on the endeavours of exploration, and not on the snatch and grab avarice of taking gold from the ground. Such avarice also negated the moral responsibility that came with empire.

Nostalgia was a recurrent theme in this study and it pointed to something of a contradiction in Haydon. Certain of Haydon's images and writings supported both the project of Empire and the progress of mankind. For example, his Melbourne lithographs anticipated the commercial and industrial nation that it was hoped Australia would become. But once back in England Haydon promoted Australia as a place of pre-industrial rustic simplicity. Therefore, there was both the realisation that material progress was a goal of empire but at the same time a clear longing for an earlier era. When in Australia Haydon looked forward, but when in England he looked back.

By the time *The Australian Emigrant* was published Haydon, then aged thirty-two and married, had moved to London and a post at the most famed of lunatic asylums, Bethlem. Again, his first years were seen in the context of change and reform in asylum conditions. With the criminal lunatic department housed at Bethlem, Haydon was also aware of the movement for penal reform. On all these matters he remained virtually silent, although his satirical sketch *Red Tape* implied his opinion on the politics of the asylum system with his criticism of the unnecessary bureaucracy. Perhaps here Haydon's experiences in Australia provided him with a level-headedness and judgement of character that helped him take such a pragmatic approach to the individual at Bethlem and the institution as a whole.

Despite being in an environment that must at times have been depressing, even harrowing, Haydon met some interesting and creative patients, particularly amongst the

criminally insane. He encouraged Richard Dadd and was rewarded with some exquisite paintings. Edward Oxford was yet another whom Haydon sent to Australia. Oxford's transformation into John Freeman and his fresh start in Melbourne were an inversion of Haydon's own life, and the episode threw up the old question of the dual role of Australia as both prison and land of opportunity. Certainly Haydon believed in its palliative effect (he was probably still thinking of the reinvigoration of the frontier experience) and Oxford benefited from his exile in Australia. The completion of the Edward Oxford story is a very practical reminder of the importance of the integration of European and Australian history.

In this second half of his life Haydon moved in circles which included many of the best known illustrator-artists of the era. For him sketching could only ever be a hobby fitted in around job, family and his many other interests. In the pursuit of his art, however, Haydon was displaying a typically high-Victorian, gentlemanly attitude which dictated that even an amateur interest must be undertaken with a certain degree of commitment and competence. Sketching for Haydon was a way of engaging with his world. For him it was neither a highbrow activity nor a solitary exercise but rather something done in a convivial atmosphere and mutually supportive circles. Often such art was produced to be given away as a gift. The emphasis was always on fun and this, and the humour which imbued Haydon's sketches, may have provided relief from life at Bethlem. From Charles Keene to Richard Dadd to E. B. Stephens, Haydon was an enthusiastic supporter of his fellow artists. His particular friendship with George Cruikshank gave a new insight into that man's private life.

With the close association of illustrators to writers, and through his work at Bethlem, Haydon also came into contact with some of the most prominent social commentators. He probably met Charles Dickens, possibly W. M. Thackeray, and he certainly knew G. A. Sala. These, and others within Haydon's circle, were at the forefront of shaping popular perceptions of both Australia and indeed asylums, though quite often without the practical first-hand experience Haydon had. Most striking from these observations of this network of professional writers and artists was just how many of their number came and went between England and Australia both physically and imaginatively.

In terms of time span, the Bethlem years form the greater part of Haydon's life, and there was clearly much about London life that suited a sociable man of varied interests. Nevertheless, it has been possible to detect that throughout this period there

remained in Haydon something of the returned emigrant who associated the place, Port Phillip, with a version of his younger self that he continued to promote throughout his later years. Haydon's lecture to the Bethlem inmates (and the artefacts he placed within the asylum) was further evidence of how Haydon presented his Australian experiences to an English audience. Moreover, this lecture was not picked from a number of lectures on a number of topics merely to prove a point for the purpose of this study: if Haydon gave other lectures at Bethlem, no record of them survives.

What was particularly revealed through this lecture was not so much that Haydon chose to talk about Australia, but what specifically he chose to focus on. Nowhere did he recall being an artist or a teacher; nor did he refer to his work as an architect. This was surprising when in 1862, the year he gave the lecture, there may have been a few of his buildings still standing. One of his first clients and colonial friends, J. B. Were, was by then a prominent stockbroker and Chairman of the Melbourne Stock Exchange. However, no mention was made of these more respectable pursuits or associations and their very absence from Haydon's reminiscences provided a telling lacuna. As with all adults, Haydon continued throughout his life to edit and revise his memory of his younger self, and what he chose to highlight was Haydon the adventurer; Haydon the explorer; and Haydon the Aboriginal expert. His articles on French Island, Aboriginal words and snake bites also supported this. The more typically Victorian he became, upwardly mobile, a collector, a talented amateur, a naturalist, a philanthropist, and a respectable family man, the more Haydon clung to the unorthodox and romantic part of his life. By holding a particular vision of Australia in his imagination Haydon was able to employ it both as an antidote to life at Bethlem, and as an exotic contrast to his London life. Most importantly, he projected a version of his younger self that was satisfying and rejuvenating to the mature man. But there was another reason for Haydon's promotion of particular aspects of his Australian experience over others; in so far as he had been an economic migrant, Haydon had proved a failure. In order to validate his Australia sojourn it became important for him to emphasize other achievements, and there was an element of self-aggrandisement in the constant emphasis he placed on his exploration endeavours and anthropological knowledge.

Achievement, service and recognition were features both of the enterprise of imperialism and of the middle-class Victorian psyche. Haydon increasingly came to see his life in England as one of service. He had held a public office as Steward of Devon

Asylum, and although not strictly speaking a public office at Bethlem, he was a servant of the Lunacy Commissioners and ultimately their masters at Whitehall. Membership of the Volunteer Rifles was a service to country, and his Freemasonry a service to community, notwithstanding that these often came with social benefits. In claiming the Gippsland Road and writing on colonial matters Haydon promoted a retrospective interpretation of his Australian life, presenting it as one of service to colony and therefore to Empire. This interpretation also called into question the way in which Haydon's sense of identity, both national and individual, had been sharpened by his contact with the colonies.

If service was a particular thread through Haydon's life, so too was masculinity. The frontier was largely a male sphere and a place where masculinity could be tested. Contact with an indigenous population also allowed European masculinity to be confronted and confirmed. This partly explained Haydon's own curiosity and admiration for the Port Phillip Aborigines. But, conversely, masculinity could also be expressed in the defence of these oppressed people. Once back in genteel society in England, Haydon found ways of transferring colonial masculinity into other outlets. The Volunteer Force, exclusively male societies, and fishing: these were places where physical muscles could be stretched or masculine authority exercised. Other expressions of masculinity came from self-reliance, protecting the weak, and from domesticity.

By the end of his life Haydon's Australia was distanced by half a century. Although Haydon continued to correspond with friends in Australia, evidence suggests that he never fully engaged with the wealthy and developed city Melbourne had become. Nor did he seek the society of other ex-colonials with whom he might have been expected to have a rapport. Throughout his time at Bethlem Haydon was supported by a strong domestic life with Clarissa, their five children and a wide social circle.

Haydon was a man of his time and the embodiment of much of what it meant to be a Victorian. He lived through an era that saw the emergence of the middle-classes and what they stood for. It was also a time which saw the rising respectability of, and growth in, the professional classes. Society was increasingly moving towards meritocracy, something which Haydon had experienced and appreciated in a purer form in Port Phillip. But merit did not negate the need for social standing and being a gentleman was also a preoccupation of mid-Victorian society. If not by birth or property ownership, one could be a gentleman by virtue of conduct. For Haydon this was seen in his gentlemanly sensibilities and pursuits. Even here the Port Phillip episode was not



incongruous: youthful adventures in far-off places, especially if they could then be presented as acts of heroism or service, were perfectly fitting for a gentleman, and in this context Australia functioned as a proving-ground for character. In the colonial setting too, issues of class and background were detected both in Port Phillip society and during the Gippsland expedition.

Haydon's participation in an imperial world was a keynote of this study. Although it has been shown that Haydon felt a very strong connection specifically to the Port Phillip District it has equally been shown that the Empire was a wider space to which he was committed in his thinking and actions. In Haydon's time the British Empire, despite its size, held an intimacy that is hard to imagine today with many layers of informal networks and connections. Both the episodes of Samuel hearing from South Africa about his buried bottle and Haydon having his journal returned from Gippsland were examples of this. So, too, was the fact that Haydon felt further from home when in South America than he did when in Australia.

Parental influence was a determining factor in Haydon's ability to connect with a wider British world. Samuel Haydon was a product of the Empire in the sense that as a naval man he was out there fighting for it, or administering it. There was little doubt that he gave his son some sense of the potential of empire and one that Haydon acted on in his decisions to migrate, as did his younger brother Edward some years later. Haydon passed it down to his own son Walton who emigrated to Canada. Through various different ways of engaging with people and place it was possible to see how these three generations all operated within, and were agents of, the British Empire.

Haydon's life has been shown in the light of a post-colonial, post-nationalist new interest in global imperial networks. In so doing it has raised the question of how many others are there like Haydon who spent time in the colonies but went on to lead lives back in Britain always shaped by their colonial experiences. Some possible candidates have been identified in this study, particularly amongst those members of the Royal Geographical Society or the Royal Colonial Society. There are perhaps less obvious characters whose lives might bear examination through a similar model to that of Haydon's. Such examination was possible because of the breadth and variety of material Haydon left behind him. The traveller's journal, guide book, adventure story or sketch, each genre had its own form and function as the location of imperial imagination.

Having traced the course of Haydon's life and the major influences on it, it remains to define how the sum of these parts added up to something that must be considered 'Anglo-Australian'. Haydon was an Anglo-Saxon who lived in and was forever affected by Australia, the land and its people. This did not manifest itself in Haydon walking down the Strand in a cabbage-tree hat whistling the latest bush ballad (though perhaps his pipe-smoking and house naming might fall into this category). It was an altogether more subtle thing derived from the repatriation and reshaping of ideas and experiences. It was a literal and metaphoric broadening of horizons; about contact with other British groups and indigenous peoples; about tolerance, self-help and service; about masculinity, science and the natural world, progress and improvement; and ultimately it was about how he chose to define himself. These all found expression both in frontier Port Phillip and middle-class metropolitan England, and they provided a continuity that enabled Haydon to engage fully with both worlds.

Haydon's Anglo-Australianess denoted he was someone whose life was not constricted by conventional national boundaries but was lived in the wider British world. It was an Anglo-Australian life because it combined a natural and genuine affection for a specific place with an ability to conduct the energy and impulse of Empire. When George Henry Haydon invoked Horace's '*Coelum, non animum, mutant, qui trans mare currunt*' he took it to mean that the change in the skies above brought no change to the character of the person; his own life belies that interpretation. For him the resultant change of horizons richly informed an Anglo-Australian life.

## Epilogue

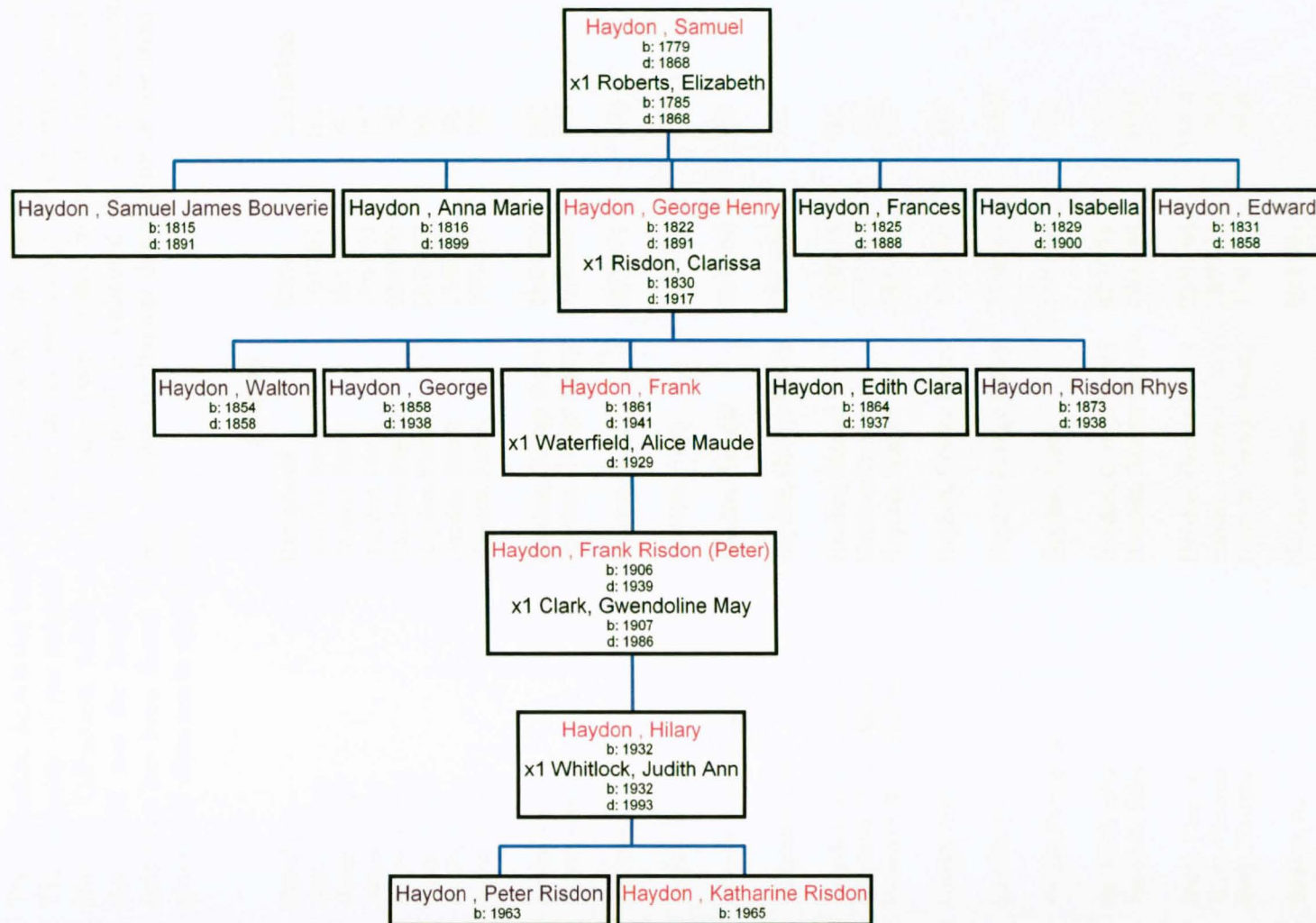
When Samuel Haydon buried his bottle on Table Mountain in February 1803 Charles Grimes, surveyor-general under Governor King, was charting Port Phillip Bay where he found the mouth of the river Yarra. Samuel's speculation on the future of the continent of New Holland seems, with hindsight, a portent of his son's life. This study began with a story of a bottle and it is, therefore, fitting that it should end with another bottle. On his return from Australia in 1845 Haydon brought with him a bottle containing water from Melbourne's river Yarra. It was his intention that this water should be used to christen his children. For whatever reason this did not happen and the bottle remained sealed, a treasured possession and a symbol of Haydon's attempt to capture and retain the very essence of his Australia.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This bottle remained in London in the house of Haydon's son Frank until it was smashed in 1941 by the explosion of a German bomb nearby.

# Appendix I

## Haydon family tree showing line of descent from Samuel Haydon to Katharine Haydon



## Appendix II

### Schedule of Haydon material

This schedule details the body of primary material on which this study has been based. The majority of the original items are in the possession of the writer and form the Haydon Collection. Additional items have been located in various repositories around the world and the location of the original is indicated. In some instances only a reference has been found. Where possible a physical description of the item has been given. All sizes are in centimetres.

#### *Letters*

<b>Sender</b>	<b>Recipient</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Location</b>
Acton, Roger	Haydon, Frank	14/11/91	HC
Acton, Roger	Haydon, Frank	16/11/91	HC
Acton, Roger	Haydon, Frank	17/11/91	HC
Acton, Roger	Haydon, Frank	05/08/92	HC
Acton, Roger	Haydon, Frank	06/08/92	HC
Acton, Roger	Haydon, Frank	15/06/99	HC
Acton, Roger	Haydon, Frank	18/10/??	HC
Acton, Roger	Haydon, George Henry	25/04/89	HC
Acton, Roger	Haydon, George Henry	31/05/89	HC
Andrews, Thomas	Haydon, Frank	10/11/91	HC
Arthur, Walter	Haydon, Frank	12/11/91	HC
Aylmer, Admiral Lord	Haydon, Samuel	22/06/50	HC
Baggellay, John	Haydon, George Henry	27/05/89	HC
Bouverie, Rear Admiral	Haydon, Samuel	10/07/16	HC
Bouverie, Rear Admiral	Haydon, Samuel	01/??/16	HC
Bouverie, Rear Admiral	Haydon, Samuel	14/05/20	HC
Bright, John	Haydon, George Henry	17/11/80	HC
Brooke, [...]	Haydon, George Henry	27/06/84	BRH
Brown Burton, B.	Haydon, Frank	14/11/91	HC
Bucknill, John	Haydon, George Henry	07/10/79	HC
Bucknill, John	Haydon, George Henry	29/12/84	BRH
Bury, Thomas	Haydon, George Henry	23/01/68	NLA
Bury, Thomas	Haydon, George Henry	23/01/74	NLA
Bury, Thomas	Haydon, George Henry	11/04/77	NLA
Buxton, A.	Haydon, Frank	09/11/91	HC
Chichester, Francis S.	Haydon, George Henry	25/05/89	BRH
Chichester, Francis S.	Haydon, George Henry	26/08/89	BRH
Chichester, Francis S.	Haydon, George Henry	23/07/90	HC
Chichester, Francis S.	Haydon, George Henry	14/07/90	BRH
Chichester, Francis S.	Haydon, Frank	27/07/85	HC
Chichester, Francis S.	Haydon, Frank	11/09/91	HC

Crawhall, Joseph	Haydon, George Henry	18/05/81	HC
Crawhall, Joseph	Haydon, George Henry	18/03/87	HC
Crawhall, Joseph	Haydon, George Henry	24/05/87	HC
Crawhall, Joseph	Haydon, George Henry	16/10/87	HC
Crawhall, Joseph	Haydon, George Henry	26/04/88	BRH
Crawhall, Joseph	Haydon, George Henry	19/03/89	BRH
Crawhall, Joseph	Haydon, George Henry	29/12/84	BRH
Cruikshank, George	Haydon, George Henry	07/01/67	Spielmann
Cruikshank, George	Haydon, George Henry	01/04/63	PUL
Cruikshank, George	Haydon, George Henry	undated	PUL
Cruikshank, George	Haydon, George Henry	undated	PUL
Dickens, Charles	Haydon, Samuel J. B.	26/09/48	Private collection
Dickens, Elizabeth	Haydon, Samuel J. B.	??/04/51	Ref only
Drew, Lewis H.	Haydon, Frank	09/11/91	HC
Drew, Lewis H.	Haydon, Frank	14/11/91	HC
Duncan, Edward	Haydon, George Henry	22/04/75	HC
Farr, Fred W.	Haydon, Frank	07/11/91	HC
Farr, Fred W.	Haydon, Frank	09/11/91	HC
Foster, Myles Birket	Haydon, George Henry	17/07/89	HC
Foster, Sir Ian	Haydon, Frank	10/11/91	HC
Foster, Juliana	Haydon, Frank	12/11/91	HC
Fox, J. Colcott	Haydon, George Henry	undated	HC
Hainsselin, Henry	Haydon, George Henry	04/06/84	HC
Haydon, Benjamin Robert	Haydon, Samuel	14/06/41	HC
Haydon, Benjamin Robert	Haydon, Samuel	03/08/45	HC
Haydon, Benjamin Robert	Haydon, Samuel	unknown	ref in family book
Haydon, Benjamin Robert	Haydon, Samuel	unknown	ref in family book
Haydon, Benjamin Robert	Haydon, Samuel	unknown	ref in family book
Haydon, Clarissa	Haydon, Frank	07/09/??	HC
Haydon, Clarissa	Haydon, Frank	31/08/80	HC
Haydon, Clarissa	Haydon, Frank	22/05/90	HC
Haydon, Clarissa	Haydon, Frank	09/09/92	HC
Haydon, Clarissa	Haydon, Frank	03/09/??	HC
Haydon, Clarissa	Haydon, Frank	02/09/??	HC
Haydon, Clarissa	Haydon, Frank	07/09/??	HC
Haydon, Clarissa	Haydon, Frank	09/09/??	HC
Haydon, Clarissa	Haydon, Frank	11/09/??	HC
Haydon, Clarissa	Haydon, Frank	09/09/1907	HC
Haydon, Clarissa	Haydon, Frank	20/09/1908	HC
Haydon, Clarissa	Haydon, Frank	23/09/1907	HC
Haydon, Clarissa	Haydon, Frank	31/12/1908	HC
Haydon, Clarissa	Haydon, Frank	01/04/1909	HC
Haydon, Clarissa	Haydon, Frank	09/09/1909	HC
Haydon, Clarissa	Haydon, Frank	09/09/1911	HC
Haydon, Clarissa	Haydon, Frank	09/09/1912	HC
Haydon, Clarissa	Haydon, Frank	06/04/1913	HC

Haydon, Clarissa	Haydon, Frank	16/09/1913	HC
Haydon, Clarissa	Haydon, Frank	09/09/1913	HC
Haydon, Clarissa	Haydon, Frank	16/09/1913	HC
Haydon, Clarissa	Haydon, Frank	13/03/1915	HC
Haydon, Clarissa	Haydon, Maude	10/09/19??	HC
Haydon, Edward	Haydon, Samuel	02/05/49	HC
Haydon, Frank	Haydon, Clarissa	??/??/65	HC
Haydon, Frank	Haydon, Rhys	27/07/80	HC
Haydon, Frank	Haydon, George	??/??/68	HC
Haydon, Frank	Haydon, George	31/12/1931	HC
Haydon, Frank	Haydon, George	13/01/1931	HC
Haydon, Frank Scott	Latimer, Thomas	17/07/73	HC
Haydon, Frank Scott	Haydon, George Henry	30/10/75	HC
Haydon, Frederick W.	Haydon, George Henry	19/02/85	HC
Haydon, George	Haydon, Frank	14/12/1938	HC
Haydon, George	Haydon, George Henry	17/04/88	BRH
Haydon, George Henry	Cruikshank, Eliza	19/03/75	PUL
Haydon, George Henry	Cruikshank, Eliza	18/12/76	PUL
Haydon, George Henry	Cruikshank, Eliza	27/01/78	PUL
Haydon, George Henry	Cruikshank, Eliza	02/04/78	PUL
Haydon, George Henry	Cruikshank, Eliza	22/05/78	PUL
Haydon, George Henry	Cruikshank, Eliza	07/08/78	PUL
Haydon, George Henry	Cruikshank, George	04/04/63	PUL
Haydon, George Henry	Cruikshank, George	30/10/71	PUL
Haydon, George Henry	Cruikshank, George	29/09/72	PUL
Haydon, George Henry	Cruikshank, George	22/05/78	PUL
Haydon, George Henry	Cruikshank, George	22/03/73	PUL
Haydon, George Henry	Cruikshank, George	11/08/76	PUL
Haydon, George Henry	Darwin, Charles	12/09/81	CUL
Haydon, George Henry	Gartin, W. O.	06/02/78	PUL
Haydon, George Henry	Keene, Charles	??/??/91	Layard, p.111
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Clarissa	27/05/88	HC
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Clarissa	17/06/88	HC
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Clarissa	01/05/90	HC
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Clarissa	26/08/90	HC
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Clarissa	01/05/91	HC
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Clarissa	17/05/91	HC
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Clarissa	09/07/91	HC
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Clarissa	06/08/91	HC
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Edward	17/09/43	ref only
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Frances	10/05/43	ref only
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Francis	21/01/89	HC



Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Frank	undated	HC
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Frank	26/08/78	HC
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Frank	28/08/80	HC
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Frank	16/11/83	HC
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Frank	01/07/83	HC
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Frank	08/05/85	HC
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Frank	10/12/88	HC
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Frank	12/05/88	HC
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Frank	15/07/91	HC
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Frank	10/11/91	HC
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Frank	undated	HC
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Frank Scott	21/10/75	HUL
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, George	18/04/88	BRH
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Mary & Anna	31/10/42	ref only
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Mary & Anna	14/04/43	ref only
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Samuel	26/11/40	KRH
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Samuel	19/09/42	ref only
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Samuel	12/12/42	ref only
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Samuel	06/03/42	ref only
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Samuel	09/05/43	ref only
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Samuel	01/08/43	ref only
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Samuel	15/09/43	ref only
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Samuel	17/09/43	ref only
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Samuel	19/09/42	ref only
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Samuel	19/12/43	ref only
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Samuel	04/01/44	ref only
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Samuel	20/02/44	ref only
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Samuel	07/07/44	ref only
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Samuel	10/07/44	ref only
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Samuel	21/07/44	ref only
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Samuel	11/12/44	ref only
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Samuel	26/05/45	ref only
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Samuel	30/05/45	ref only
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Samuel	01/06/45	ref only
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Samuel	02/06/45	ref only
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Samuel	03/06/45	ref only
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Samuel	05/06/45	ref only
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Samuel	07/06/45	ref only
Haydon, George Henry	Haydon, Walton	14/09/66	HC
Haydon, George Henry	Martin, John	30/06/81	BRH
Haydon, George Henry	Phelps, Dr	05/11/90	HC
Haydon, George Henry	Portsmouth, Lord	01/04/80	BRH
Haydon, George Henry	Portsmouth, Lady	17/03/80	HRO
Haydon, George Henry	Portsmouth, Lady	19/03/80	BRH
Haydon, George Henry	Risdon, Catherine	06/06/64	HC
Haydon, George Henry	Tuke, Dr Hake		
Haydon, George Henry	Tanner	03/04/80	BRH

Haydon, Isabella	Haydon, Frank	05/10/96	HC
Haydon, Mary	Haydon, Frank	07/09/1902	HC
Haydon, Samuel	Haydon, Benjamin Robert	23/04/41	HUL
Haydon Samuel	Haydon, Clarissa	25/12/66	HC
Haydon, Samuel	Haydon, Fanny	21/09/61	HC
Haydon, Samuel	Haydon, George Henry	07/05/42	ref only
Haydon, Samuel	Haydon, George Henry	27/08/43	ref only
Haydon, Samuel	Haydon, George Henry	11/05/44	ref only
Haydon, Samuel	Haydon, George Henry	13/04/44	ref only
Haydon, Samuel	Haydon, George Henry	14/06/44	ref only
Haydon, Samuel	Haydon, George Henry	07/11/53	HC
Haydon, Samuel	Haydon, George Henry	26/08/61	HC
Haydon, Samuel	Haydon, George Henry	05/12/61	HC
Haydon, Samuel	Haydon, George Henry	31/12/61	HC
Haydon, Samuel	Haydon, George Henry	28/01/62	HC
Haydon, Samuel	Haydon, George Henry	13/02/62	HC
Haydon, Samuel	Haydon, George Henry	12/03/68	HC
Haydon, Samuel	Haydon, George Henry	12/06/68	HC
Haydon, Samuel	Haydon, George Henry	undated	HC
Haydon, Samuel	Haydon, Walton	03/07/66	HC
Haydon, Samuel	Haydon, Walton	22/06/69	HC
Haydon, Samuel	Haydon, Walton	08/05/65	HC
Haydon, Samuel B.	Rossetti, Dante Gabriel	??/??/65	Fredeman, p.111
Heaton, John	Haydon, George Henry	01/01/79	HC
Hood, Dr W. C	Haydon, George Henry	Wednesday	BRH
Hood, Dr W. C	Haydon, George Henry	undated	BRH
Hook, P.	Haydon, George Henry	11/05/70	BRH
Jeafferson, A. M.	Haydon, George Henry	10/04/83	HC
Keene, Charles	Haydon, George Henry	10/02/82	HC
Keene, Charles	Haydon, George Henry	11/02/82	HC
Keene, Charles	Haydon, George Henry	31/03/82	HC
Keene, Charles	Haydon, George Henry	14/10/82	BRH
Keene, Charles	Haydon, George Henry	undated	HC
Keene, Charles	Haydon, Frank	28/01/90	HC
Keene, Charles	Haydon, Frank	30/01/90	HC
Keene, Charles	Joseph Crawhall	13/07/77	Layard, p. 244
Keene, Charles	Joseph Crawhall	26/07/79	Layard, p. 290
Keene, Charles	Joseph Crawhall	09/06/82	Layard, p. 336
Keene, Charles	Joseph Crawhall	06/10/83	Layard, p. 348
Keene, Charles	Joseph Crawhall	04/04/86	Layard, p. 361
Keene, Charles	Joseph Crawhall	09/04/87	Layard, p. 380
Keene, Charles	Joseph Crawhall	01/07/87	Layard, p. 382
Keene, Charles	Joseph Crawhall	22/10/87	Layard, p. 394
Keene, Charles	Joseph Crawhall	05/10/89	Layard, p. 409

Ker, Charles	Haydon, George Henry	04/05/80	HC
Ker, Charles	Haydon, George Henry	01/09/80	HC
Kingdom, James S.	Haydon, Frank	09/11/91	HC
Leech, John	Haydon, George Henry	??/??/69	BRH
Leech, John	Haydon, George Henry	20/04/60	HC
Leet, J.	Haydon, Frank	10/11/91	HC
Lewis, Richard	Haydon, Frank	11/11/91	HC
Lookwood, Lady Julia	Haydon, George Henry	31/12/60	HC
Luke, [R...]	Haydon, Frank	12/11/91	HC
Mainwaring, H.	Haydon, George Henry	01/01/58	HC
Marks, Henry Stacy	Haydon, George Henry	18/04/61	HC
Marks, Henry Stacy	Haydon, George Henry	16/02/70	HC
Marks, Henry Stacy	Haydon, George Henry	21/12/78	HC
Martin, John	Haydon, George Henry	20/04/80	Ref only
Martin, John	Haydon, George Henry	07/08/80	Ref only
Martin, Eliza	Haydon, George Henry	10/11/85	Ref only
Mason, Gerald M.	Haydon, Frank	09/11/91	HC
Milas, John	Haydon, Frank	13/11/91	HC
Norton, John	Haydon, Frank	Sunday	HC
Oxford, Edward [John Freeman]	Haydon, George Henry	25/11/67	NLA
Oxford, Edward	Haydon, George Henry	27/12/67	NLA
Oxford, Edward	Haydon, George Henry	08/02/89	NLA
Oxford, Edward	Haydon, George Henry	15/02/89	NLA
Oxford, Edward	Haydon, George Henry	01/03/89	NLA
Oxford, Edward	Haydon, George Henry	08/03/89	NLA
Oxford, Edward	Haydon, George Henry	08/3/89 (Map)	HC
Oxford, Edward	Haydon, George Henry	05/12/89	NLA
Oxford, Edward	Haydon, George Henry	07/11/89 rec.	NLA
Parson, George Thomas	Haydon, George Henry	12/07/67	HC
Pearce, William	Haydon, Frank	09/11/91	HC
Perkins, L.	Haydon, Frank	03/10/1902	HC
Perkins, L.	Haydon, Frank	13/11/1902	HC
Perkins, L.	Haydon, Frank	25/11/1902	HC
Phelps, Samuel	Haydon, George Henry	18/03/66	BRH
Phelps, Samuel	Haydon, George Henry	11/04/67	HC
Phelps, Samuel	Haydon, George Henry	16/05/67	HC
Phelps, Samuel	Haydon, George Henry	06/08/69	HC
Phelps, Samuel	Haydon, George Henry	13/08/67	HC
Phelps, Samuel	Haydon, George Henry	31/07/68	HC
Phelps, Samuel	Haydon, George Henry	29/01/69	HC
Phelps, Samuel	Haydon, George Henry	17/06/69	HC
Phelps, Samuel	Haydon, George Henry	08/08/70	HC
Phelps, Samuel	Haydon, George Henry	27/08/72	HC

Phelps, Samuel	Haydon, George Henry	23/06/74	HC
Phelps, Samuel	Haydon, George Henry	04/10/74	HC
Phelps, Samuel	Haydon, George Henry	06/08/78	HC
Pitt-Lewis, J.	Haydon, Frank	11/11/91	HC
Plowman, H.	Haydon, Frank	Thursday	HC
Portsmouth, Lord	Haydon, George Henry	06/06/68	HC
Portsmouth, Lord	Haydon, George Henry	March 1876	HC
Portsmouth, Lord	Haydon, George Henry	10/09/81	BRH
Portsmouth, Lord	Haydon, George Henry	30/04/82	HC
Portsmouth, Lord	Haydon, George Henry	23/09/83	BRH
Portsmouth, Lady	Haydon, George Henry	29/06/91	BRH
Pycroft, George	Haydon, Frank	17/11/91	HC
Pycroft, George	Haydon, George Henry	07/11/64	BRH
Pycroft, George	Haydon, George Henry	Xmas /82	HC
Pycroft, George	Haydon, George Henry	18/03/85	HC
Pycroft, George	Haydon, George Henry	Xmas /86	HC
Pycroft, George	Haydon, George Henry	09/05/89	BRH
Pycroft, George	Haydon, George Henry	Xmas	HC
Randle, William	Haydon, George Henry	03/05/87	HC
Randle, William	Haydon, George Henry	27/07/88	HC
Rayner, Henry	Haydon, Frank	Wednesday	HC
Richards, J.P.	Haydon, Frank	10/11/91	HC
Risdon, Catharine	Haydon, Clarissa	01/01/64	HC
Risdon, Catharine	Haydon, Clarissa	05/05/64	HC
Risdon, Catharine	Haydon, Clarissa	03/06/64	HC
Risdon, Catharine	Haydon, Clarissa	21/06/65	HC
Risdon, Catharine	Haydon, Clarissa	05/12/65	HC
Risdon, Catharine	Haydon, Clarissa	29/12/65	HC
Risdon, Catharine	Haydon, Clarissa	15/03/66	HC
Risdon, Catharine	Haydon, Clarissa	04/06/66	HC
Risdon, Catharine	Haydon, Clarissa	20/06/66	HC
Risdon, Catharine	Haydon, Clarissa	30/08/67	HC
Risdon, Catharine	Haydon, Clarissa	27/09/67	HC
Risdon, Catharine	Haydon, Clarissa	12/03/68	HC
Risdon, Catharine	Haydon, Clarissa	14/05/68	HC
Risdon, Catharine	Haydon, Clarissa	28/05/68	HC
Risdon, Catharine	Haydon, Clarissa	03/06/68	HC
Risdon, Catharine	Haydon, Clarissa	11/09/68	HC
Risdon, Catharine	Haydon, Clarissa	02/09/70	HC
Risdon, Catherine	Risdon, Mary	30/08/60	HC
Risdon, Joseph	Haydon, Walton	03/07/66	HC
Roberts, James W.	Haydon, George Henry	30/7/68	HC
Sala, George Augustus	Haydon, George Henry	07/02/78	HC
Savage, George	Haydon, Frank	20/11/91	HC
Savage, George	Haydon, George Henry	31/12/89	BRH

Savage, George	Haydon, George Henry	undated	BRH
Sharkey, Seymour J	Frank Haydon	09/11/91	HC
Simpson, William	Haydon, George Henry	undated	HC
Spielmann S. M.	Haydon, Frank	15/12/91	HC
Spielmann, S. M.	Haydon, Frank	07/06/92	HC
Stampa, George L.	Haydon, Frank	24/10/1925	HC
Stampa, George L.	Haydon, Frank	27/10/1925	HC
Stampa, George L.	Haydon, Frank	28/10/1925	HC
Stampa, George L.	Haydon, Frank	24/12/1925	HC
Stampa, George L.	Haydon, Frank	02/05/1930	HC
Stampa, George L.	Haydon, Frank	11/01/1931	HC
Stampa, George L.	Haydon, Frank	24/12/1932	HC
Stampa, George L.	Haydon, Frank	28/12/1933	HC
Stampa, George L.	Haydon, Frank	24/12/1935	HC
Stampa, George L.	Haydon, Frank	23/12/1936	HC
Stampa, George L.	Haydon, Frank	27/12/1936	HC
Stampa, George L.	Haydon, Frank	01/01/1939	HC
Stampa, George L.	Haydon, Frank	12/12/1939	HC
Stampa, George L.	Haydon, Frank	undated	HC
Sta[...] A.L.	Haydon, George Henry	undated	HC
Stone, T. Madden	Haydon, Frank	11/11/91	HC
Swain, James	Haydon, Frank	09/11/91	HC
Twitchim, Andrew	Haydon, Frank	10/11/91	HC
Twitchim, Eleanor	Haydon, Frank	25/11/91	HC
Wagstaff, W. W.	Haydon, Frank	09/11/91	HC
Wagstaff, W. W.	Haydon, Frank	10/11/91	HC
Whitley, W.	Haydon, Frank	10/11/91	HC
Williams, Adelaide	Haydon, Frank	09/11/91	HC
Willis, W. G.	Haydon, Frank	13/11/91	HC
Wood, Sir Albert	Haydon, George Henry	29/05/75	HC
Wood, W. Ramsden	Haydon, Frank	11/11/91	HC
Woolner, Thomas	Haydon, Samuel. B.	??/05/50	Copy
Worthy, Charles	Haydon, George Henry	22/11/77	HC
Worthy, Charles	Haydon, George Henry	08/01/82	HC

### *Photographs*

<b>Subject</b>	<b>Photographer</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Description</b>
Aboriginal couple	W.H. Cooper (Melbourne)	1879	6x10
Aboriginal women	W.H. Cooper (Melbourne)	1879	6x10
Aboriginal woman	W.H. Cooper (Melbourne)	1879	6x10
Aboriginal group	W.H. Cooper (Melbourne)	1879	6x10
Acland Dr Henry		1883	10x16 portrait
Ayers, William	Douglas Pym, Streatham	1900	10x16 portrait
Bob (the dog)		1896	10x16 portrait
Boyd, J.T.	Elliot & Fry, Baker St.	1887	10x16 portrait
Copland, Alfred	Fred Downer, Watford	1885	10x16 portrait
Copland, Alfred		1888	10x16 portrait
Cruikshank, George	Stereoscopic Co., Regent St.	1876	6x10 portrait
Diamond, Dr Hugh		1878	10x16 portrait
Latimer, Thomas	O. Angel, Exeter	c.1888	10x16 portrait
Lewis, Richard		1887	10x16 portrait
Lewis, Richard	Elwell, Regent St.	1887	6x10 portrait
Phelps, Ellen	Elliot & Fry, Baker St.		6x10 portrait
Phelps, Samuel	Elliot & Fry	c.1880	6x10 portrait
Farr, Fred W.	Jerrard, Regent St.	c.1893	10x16 portrait
Farr, Fred W.		c.1893	10x16 portrait
Foster, Myles Birket	Hills & Saunders, Eton		6x10 portrait
Haydon, Clarissa		1862	6x5 portrait
Haydon, Clarissa		1862	5x5 portrait
Haydon, Clarissa	Elwell, Regent St.	1889	10x16 portrait
Haydon, Clarissa	Elliot & Fry, Baker St.	1891	6x10 portrait
Haydon, Clarissa	Puddicombe, Bideford	1897	10x16 portrait
Haydon, Clarissa	Puddicombe, Bideford	1902	10x14 portrait
Haydon, Clarissa	The Parisian, Fleet St.		6x10 portrait
Haydon, Edith		c.1865	10x16 baby
Haydon, Edith	Elliott & Fry, Baker St.	c.1880	6x10 portrait
Haydon, Edith	Elliott & Fry, Baker St.	c.1880	6x10 portrait
Haydon, Edith	Elwell, Regent St.	c.1882	10x16 portrait
Haydon, Edith	A. King, Littlehampton	c.1887	10x16 portrait
Haydon, Frank	Fradelle & Marshall, Regent St.	1876	10x16 portrait
Haydon, Frank	Elwell, Regent St.	c.1876	10x16 portrait
Haydon, Frank	Elwell, Regent St.	1889	10x16 portrait
Haydon, Frank	J. S. Moore	c.1900	10x16 portrait
Haydon, George Henry		1840	Silhouette
Haydon, George Henry		1858	7 <sup>th</sup> Surrey Vols.

Haydon, George Henry		1858	7 <sup>th</sup> Surrey Vols.
Haydon, George Henry		1858	7 <sup>th</sup> Surrey Vols.
Haydon, George Henry		1862	6x 9 portrait
Haydon, George Henry		1862	6x9 seated
Haydon, George Henry		1868	6 x 9 Fishing
Haydon, George Henry		1873	W/minster Vols.
Haydon, George Henry			7x10 Bethlem
Haydon, George Henry & Dr Helps			6x7 Bethlem
Haydon, George Henry		c. 1880	Fishing 18x28
Haydon, George Henry	Elwell, Regent St	1889	19x30 Freemason
Haydon, George Henry	Elwell, regent St.	1889	10x16 portrait
Haydon, George Henry		1890	6x10 portrait
Haydon, George Henry		1890	6x10 portrait
Haydon, George Henry		1891	
Haydon, George	Elwell, Regent St.	1887	10x16 portrait
Haydon, George	Elliot & Fry, Baker St.	1887	10x16 portrait
Haydon, George			10xoval
Haydon, Henry	Naudin, Kensington	1899	10x16 portrait
Haydon, Henry	Jas. Boarder, Shepherds Bush		6x10 portrait
Haydon, Louise Caroline			10xoval
Haydon, Louise Caroline	Ewell, Regent St.	1889	10x16 portrait
Haydon, Louise Caroline	Elliot & Fry, Baker St.		10x16 portrait
Haydon, Louise Caroline	Green & Collins, New Bond St.		10x16 portrait
Haydon, Rhys Risdon		1889	10x16 portrait
Haydon, Samuel Bouverie			6x10 portrait
Haydon, Samuel Bouverie		1879	10xoval
Haydon, Samuel Bouverie's studio		1879	16x16
Haydon, Mrs S. Bouverie, Flaxman & Frances			9x14
Haydon, Samuel James Bouverie and D.G. Rossetti at 16 Cheyne Walk			27x17
Haydon, Samuel & Elizabeth		1857	11x15
Haydon, Walton	Bennetto, Winnipeg	1887	10x16
Heathorne, Catherine	Clarke, Maidstone	1886	10x16 portrait
Hood, Dr. Charles	Jabez Huhges, Ryde		10x16 portrait
Hurstbourne Priors, 'The Island'		1894	11x17
Jones, Dr. Henry	Brooklyn		10x16 portrait
Kingsley, Charles	Stereoscopic Co.		10x16 portrait
Madden Stone, T.	Barraud, Portman Sq.	1891	6x10 portrait
Mason, Rev. Gerald M.	Geo. Emberson, London		6x10 portrait
Mason, Rev. Gerald M.	Soper & Steadman, Strand		10x16 portrait
Pycroft, George	J.F. Long, Exeter	1886	10x16 portrait
Risdon, Anne		1857	10x16 portrait
Risdon, Catherine			10x16 portrait



Risdon, Joseph		1860	14x18 seated
Risdon, Robert	H. Lenthall, Regent St.	1876	10x16 portrait
Rhys William, Dr. M.			At desk-Bethlem
Spuddles (a dog)			8x3
Steward, Charles C.	Mrs R.E. Carr, Winnipeg	1888	10x16 portrait
Steward's House, Bethlem Hospital		1875	20x16
Swain, Dr. Jason	Elwell, Regent St.	1899	10x16 portrait
Taylor, Alfred	Jerrard, Regent St.	1886	10x16 portrait
Thoroughgood, John	Mayall, Brighton	1896	6x10 portrait
Twitchim, Fanny	Henry Salmon, Winchester	1887	6x10 portrait
Vezin, Hermann	Stereoscopic Co	1883	10x16 portrait
Wood, Sir Albert	E. M. Haigh, Regent St.	1875	6x10 portrait

### ***Journals***

*Teresa* Journal -23 March 1840 to 18 July 1840

Journal 2 -13 November 1840 to 2 August 1841

Journal 3 - 11 October 1843 to 9 April 1844

Journal 4 - 24 April 1844 to 22 October 1844

Journal 5 - 24 April 1844 to 25 May 1844

Journal 6- 5 December 1844 to 15 January 1845

*Abberton* Journal - 1845 – 31 May 1845.

### ***Scrapbook***

Brown leather book, 'Records Relating to the Haydon Family', 27x33, 224pp

Green/marbled book no 4, 'Sundry Pages from Illustrated Papers and Australian Papers', 30x43

Red exercise book, 'Sundries & Varieties', 20x23, 100pp

Exercise book of newspaper cuttings (mainly poems) & sketches

Brown exercise book, 'Fishing Memos & Titles of Books', 20x23, 22pp

Green Letts Diary 1874, 20x32, notes

Brown leather book, 25x30, 50pp, letters

Unbound booklet, 'MS Extracts and Readings', 1837 & 1843-1848

'The History of Bethlem Royal Hospital', a collection of bound and loose notes, articles and pictures.

### ***Lectures***

Green exercise book -Emigration lecture 1849, 20x23, 150pp

Coverless exercise book - Bethlem lecture 1862, 52pp.

### *Books of sketches*

- Pocket sketchbook, 1839, 11x6, 15pp  
 Green exercise book, 20x33, 50pp, sketches and paper cuttings  
 Green book, 23x28, 50pp sketches by GHH  
 Brown leather book, 23x37, 138pp, sketches  
 Brown leather book, 24 x 29, 20pp, sketches by GHH and SBH  
 Unbound 'Pen Studies of Australia Felix', 17x24, 16pp  
*Happy Days at Hurstbourne*, 16pp HRO  
*These, to a trusty bush companion, William Ker*, 27x18, 11p  
 nla.pic-an4620083- NLA  
*Red Tape*, 25x31, 21pp  
*The Surprising Adventures of Three Men*, 19x29, 20pp  
*A Christmas Book of Midsummer Doings*, 1863, 41x30, 20pp.  
 Round Canon and Catch Club – Ladies Dinner, 28 January 1888 BRH

### *Ephemera*

- Naval warrant appointing Samuel Haydon Purser on HM *Andromache*, 1811  
 Bill of sale of the ship *Notre Dame de Miserecorde*, 1814  
 Testimonial of Sir William Symonds for Samuel Haydon, undated  
 Testimonial from Captain Aylmer for Samuel Haydon, 1821  
 Specifications of work required to be done in the erection of two stores for J.B.Were, 1841  
 Bill of Exchange, January 11 1841 payable 25 March 1841, accepted by GHH at Union Bank  
 Bill of Exchange, January 11 1841 payable 14 June 1841, accepted by GHH at Union Bank  
 Account from Dr Sproat, Melbourne 1842  
 Account from F Cooper & Co, Chemist and Druggist of Melbourne, 11 January 1845  
 Bill of exchange for Captain John Campbell given by Samuel Haydon, 11 January 1845  
 Bill advertising emigration lecture at the Athenaeum, Exeter, 4 April 1849  
     - Market Place, Crediton, 14 March 1849  
     - Teignmouth Useful Knowledge Society, 10 April 1849  
 Map of Province of Victoria showing roads, rivers, towns, counties, Gold diggings, sheep and cattle stations, London: Edward Stanford, c. 1848  
 Map of Australia, James Wyld: Charing Cross, c.1849  
 Death Certificate of Edward Haydon, Registrar General's Office, South Australia, 29 April 1858  
 Bankers draft for £30 on Union Bank of Australia, Adelaide, 8 February 1859  
 Certificate of Miner's Rights for Colony of Victoria, 1861  
 'The Australasian Railway Map of Victoria 1882'  
 'Railway Map of Victoria' from *The Australian Handbook*, 1888  
 'New Map of Melbourne and Suburbs, 1888' from *The Australian Handbook* 1888  
 Centenary map 'Melbourne Then and Now Together with the First Land Sales 1838-1888'  
 Statement on origin of returned Gippsland Journal  
 'Ye Armes of ye Haydons of ye 19<sup>th</sup> Centurie'  
 Hurstbourne Priors map and fishing rules  
 Envelope of signatures of Charles Keene  
 Schedule of the curios Haydon lent to be displayed at Bethlem, 1876  
 Book of fishing lines and flies presented to GHH by Captain H. K. Leet, 1881

Bill of fare for supper held at Bethlem, 1882

'In Memoriam' on the death of GHH, 1891

Biographical sketch of the late Samuel Haydon 1779 – 1868 – Purser in the Royal Navy by Henry George Haydon, 1901

List of attendees at Mr & Mrs George Cruikshank's Wedding Anniversary, n.d

Dadd, Richard copy of 'Elimination of a Picture and its Subject called the Feller's Stroke', Broadmoor 1865.

### *Artefacts*

Wooden container with grains of gold sand from Johnson's claim, Woolshed Creek, Victoria, Australia sent to Haydon by Henry Hainsselin in 1866

Steel needles used on French Island, 1842-1843

Wooden police staff painted 'Melbourne Corporation'

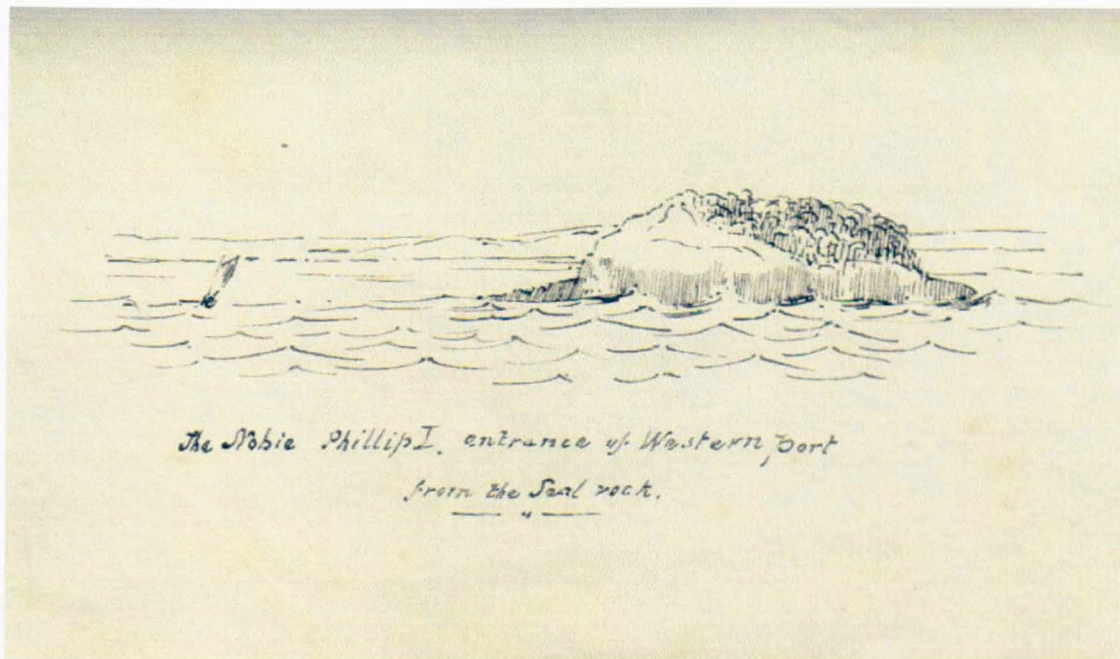
Wooden police staff painted with crest and VR.

### Appendix III

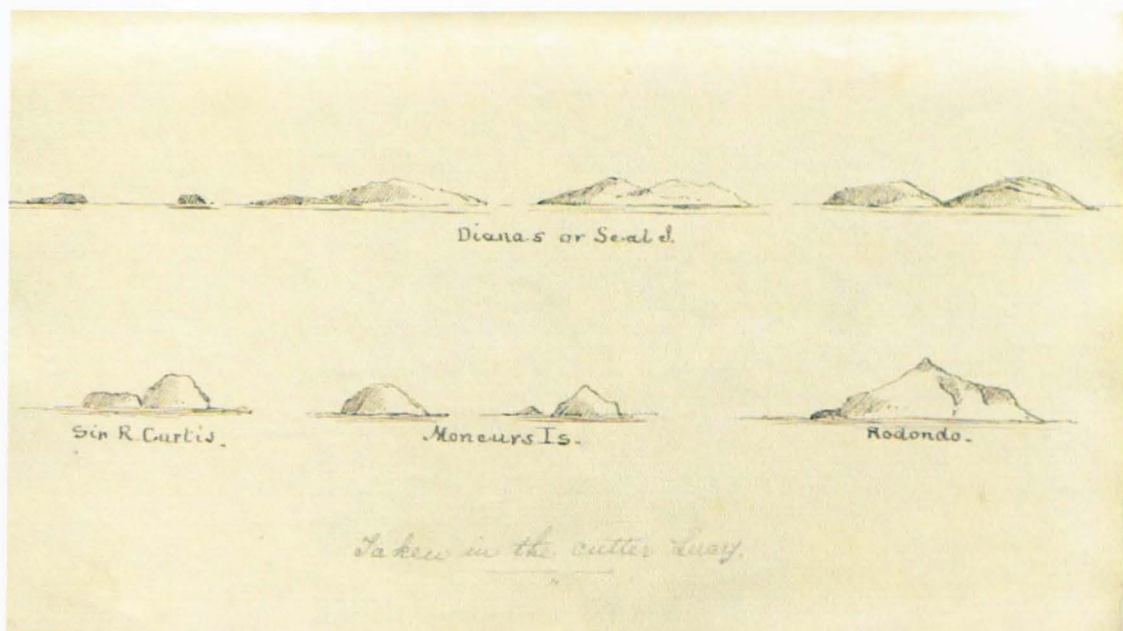
#### Additional Australian sketches by George Henry Haydon

Haydon often mixed the material in his sketchbooks and only those sketches that can be identified with some certainty as having been produced in Australia, or that depict an Australian subject, have been reproduced here. Unless otherwise stated, all the original sketches are in pen and ink. They are shown here in the order in which they appear within the journal or sketchbook. Sizes of the original images are given in centimeters.

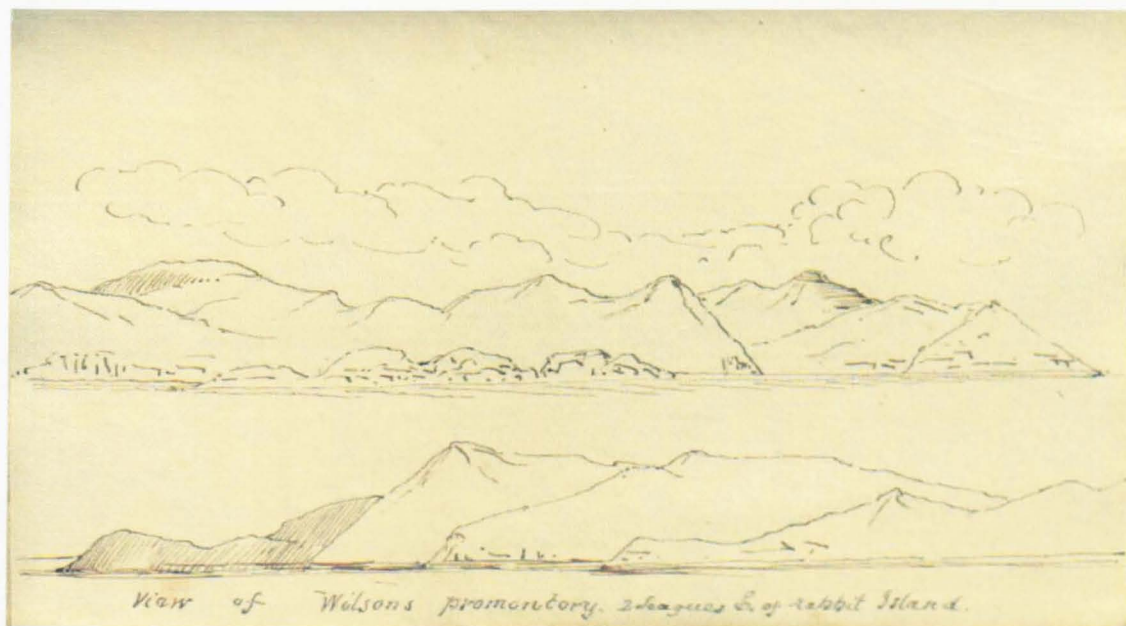
From Journal 4, 24 April 24 - 22 October 1844.



The Nobie Phillip I. entrance of Western Port  
from the Seal rock, 15 x 10.

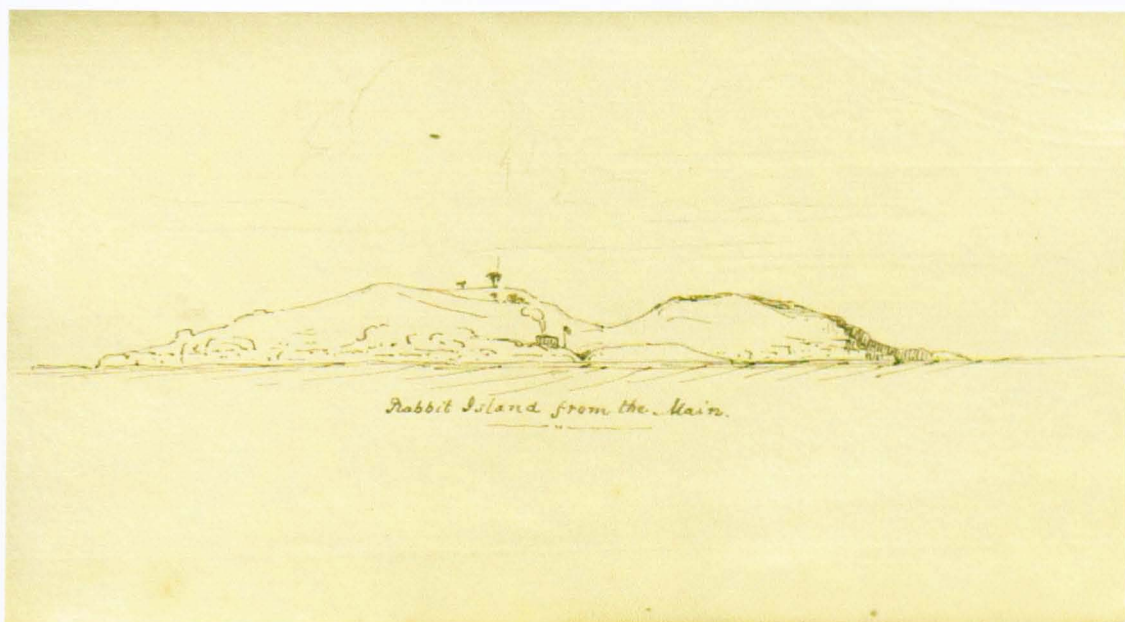


Dianas or seal I.  
 Sir R Curtis. Moneurs Is. Rodondo.  
 Taken in the cutter Lucy, 15 x 10.

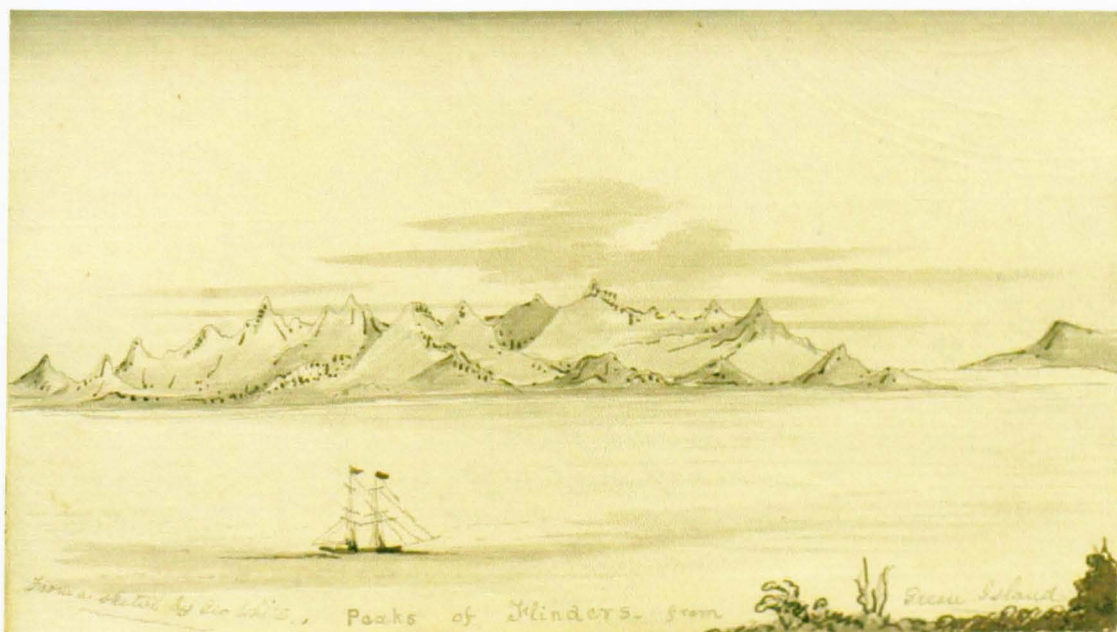


View of Wilsons Promontory. 2 Leagues E. of Rabbit Island, 15 x 10.





Rabbit Island from the Main, 15 x 10.



From a sketch by Geo. White, Peaks of Flinders from Green Island, 15 x 10.



Settlement on Flinders Island. From a drawing by Geo. White, 15 x 10.

From brown leather book, 23 x 37, HC.



Sheep Station WP, 16 x 9.





Mumbo from nature, 17 May 1844, 9 x 8.



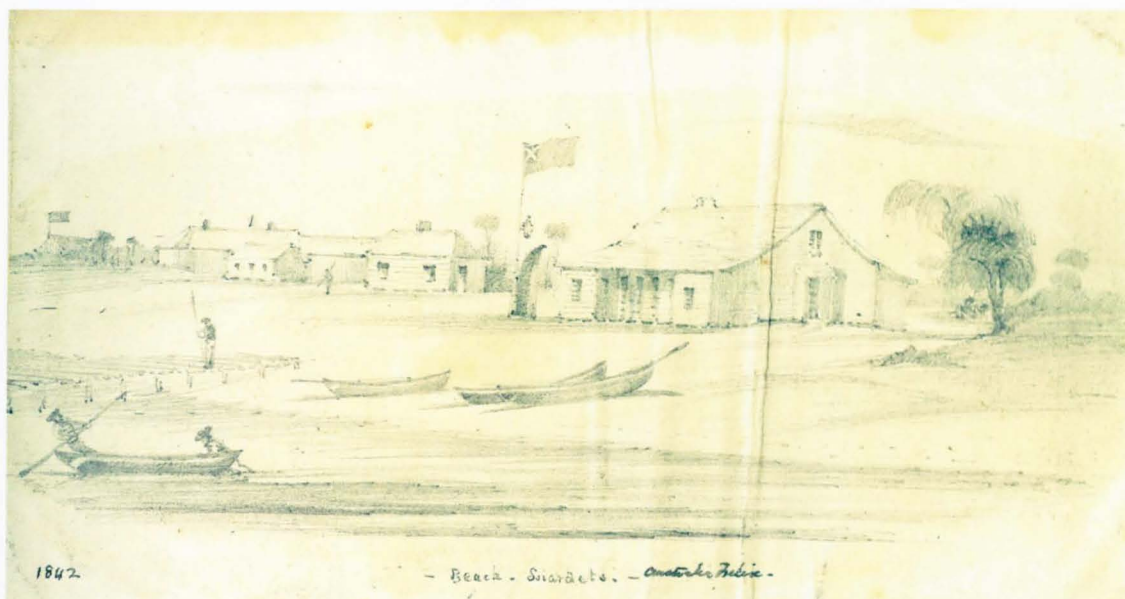
GHH, 7<sup>th</sup> April 1845, Rio de Janeiro from nature, pencil, 24 x 14.



GHH from nature, Praya Grande, pencil, 25 x 13.



Sugar Loaf- Rio de Janeiro from nature, pencil, 25 x 10.



Beach Liardets - Australia Felix, 1842, pencil, 25 x 13.



Tarennellam Australia Felix, Devils Peak 200 miles from Port P, copy from Mr Lang, pencil, 22 x 14.



Port Phillip Heads, 21 x 8.

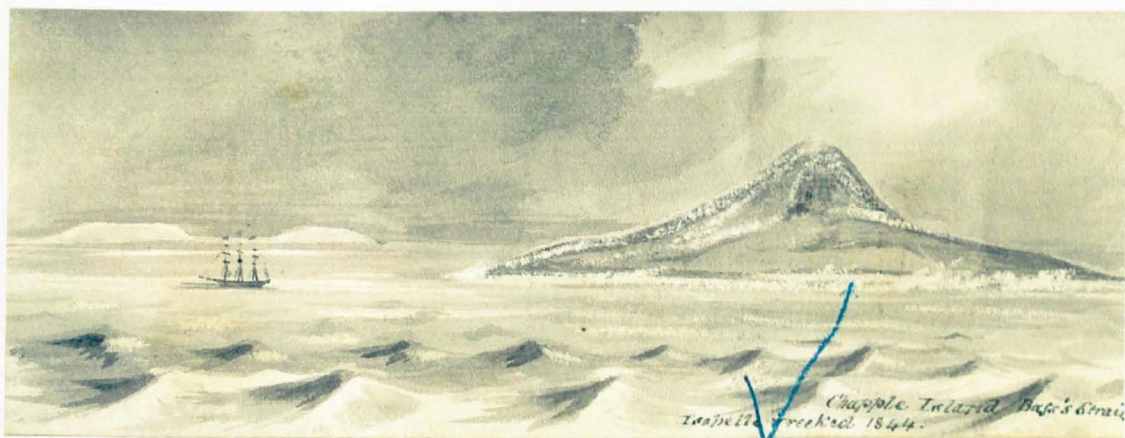


French Island, 21 x 8.

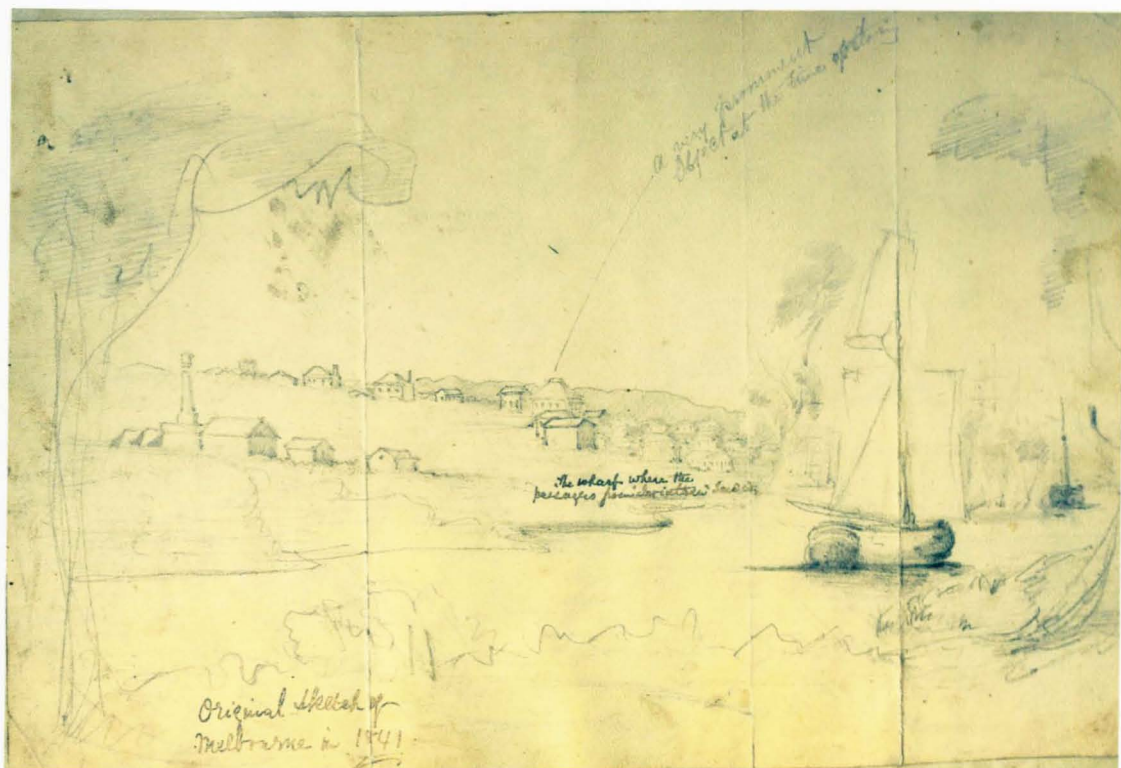




Young, PP, 1843, pencil, 8 x 9.



Chapple Island, Bass's [sic] Straits. Isabella wrecked 1844, 17 x 8.



Original Sketch of Melbourne in 1841, pencil, 25 x 18.

Despite the discrepancy in dates, this would appear to be the sketch for the lithograph *Melbourne in 1840* (see figure 2.6).



Wilson's Promontory from Midge Channel, 21 x 10.





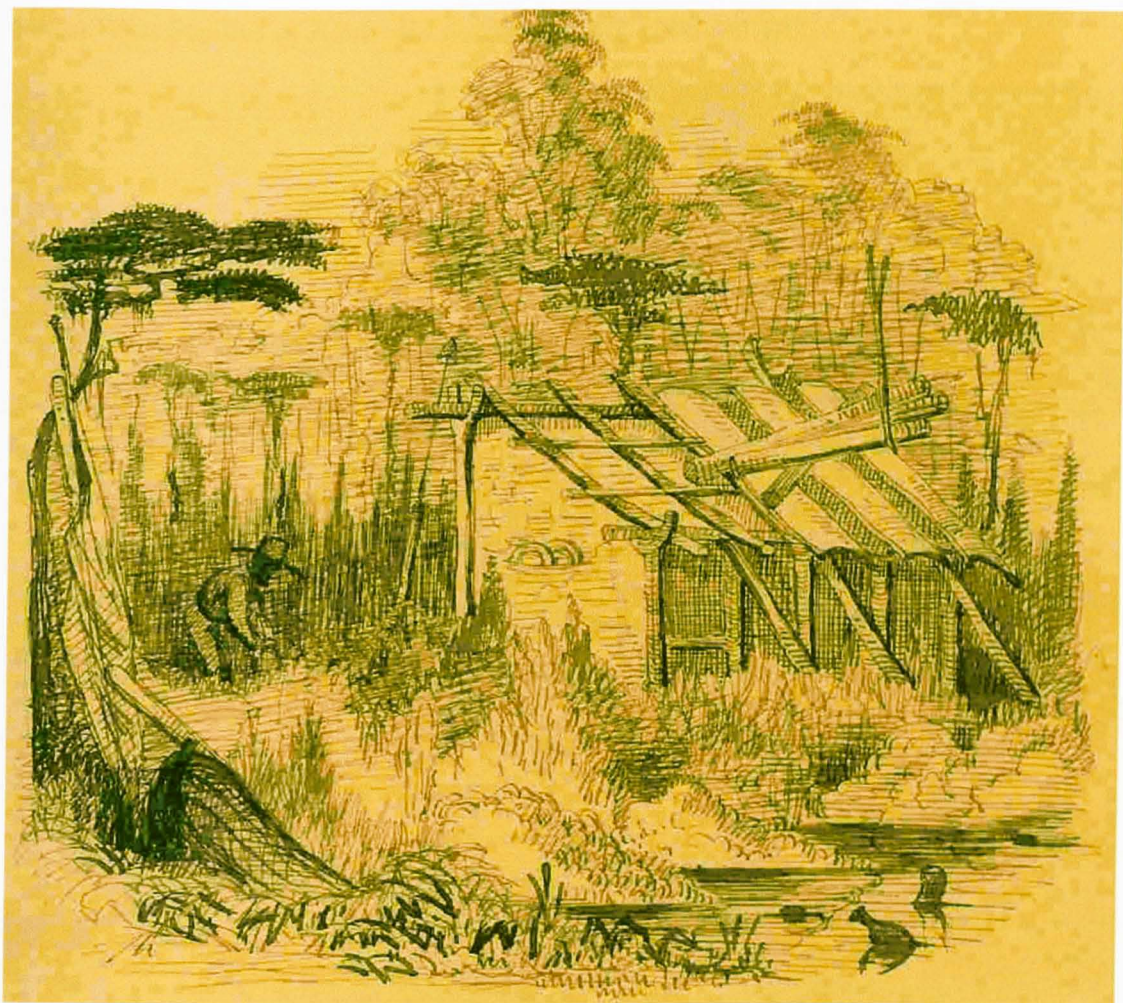
19 x 16

This appears to be the sketch for the lithograph of 'Slinger's daydream', an illustration from *The Australian Emigrant* (see figure 6.11).





Untitled, pencil, 17 x 10.



Untitled [hut on French Island], 14 x 16.



From 'Pen Studies of Australia Felix by GHH 1840-44' HC.



GHH, 1844, 15 x 9.



GHH, 11 x 9.



Here lies the Howling Dog of Narme, 13 x 8.



Bushman's Grave  
Valley of the river Lang-berin.

Bushman's Grave  
Valley of the river Lang-berin, 16 x 9.





MacComy Settler, 15 x 7.



Camp on Tarwin, 12 x 9.

This appears to be the sketch for the lithograph 'Camp on the Tarwin', an illustration from *Five Years' Experience in Australia Felix* (see figure 5.7).



Australia Felix Black 1844, pencil, 11 x 22.



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Haydon, Anne Marie - Patient's medical records  
Annual Reports to the President, Treasurer, & Governors of the Royal Hospital of  
Bethlem 1860 -1889  
Criminal Lunatic Hospital Resolutions of Court and Committee and Official  
Correspondence and Returns 1840-1862

#### *Brighton Historical Society (Australia)*

Martin Family papers

#### *British Museum*

Merlin Collection  
Robinson, George Augustus - sketches (Museum of Mankind)

#### *Cambridge University Library*

Charles Darwin Papers - DAR 116

#### *Hampshire County Records Office*

Wallop, Earls of Portsmouth - 84015

#### *Harvard University Library*

Benjamin Robert Haydon - Houghton fms Eng 1331.5

#### *La Trobe Library, State Library of Victoria*

Robert Brough Smyth Papers - MS 8781  
Charles James Tyers - MF 157/158

#### *Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales*

Robinson, George Augustus - Original Journals of Port Phillip Protectorate - ML7035-  
A7041.  
Thomas, William - ML MSS 214

#### *National Archives of South Africa, Cape Town*

Haydon, Samuel - Description of the Cape and George III penny - VC533  
Corden-Lloyd, D. & M., press cuttings and letter - A1707

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Haydon, George Henry - Mfm G 6654  
Rex Nan Kivell Collection

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Will of George Henry Haydon

*Princeton University Library*

George Cruikshank Collection - C0256

George Augustus Sala Correspondence - C0804

*Private Collections*

Haydon Collection held by Katharine Haydon - see Appendix II for a full schedule

*Public Record Office, Melbourne*

Unassisted shipping index: Index of Inward Passenger List for British and Foreign Ports to Victoria 1852-1899

Index to Registers of Assisted British Immigrants 1839-1871

Victorian Pioneers Index 1837-1880

Index of Births, Deaths and Marriages

VPRS 102 Register of Purchasers of Town Lands 1837-1856

VPRS 11862 Reports of Land Sales by Public Auction

Electoral Roll 1841-1881.

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*The Australasian*, 1878, 1884, 1888

*Australian News*, 1865

*The Australasian Sketcher*, 1875, 1883

*The Colonies and India*, 1876, 1880, 1881, 1882

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*Port Phillip Government Gazette*, 1841  
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